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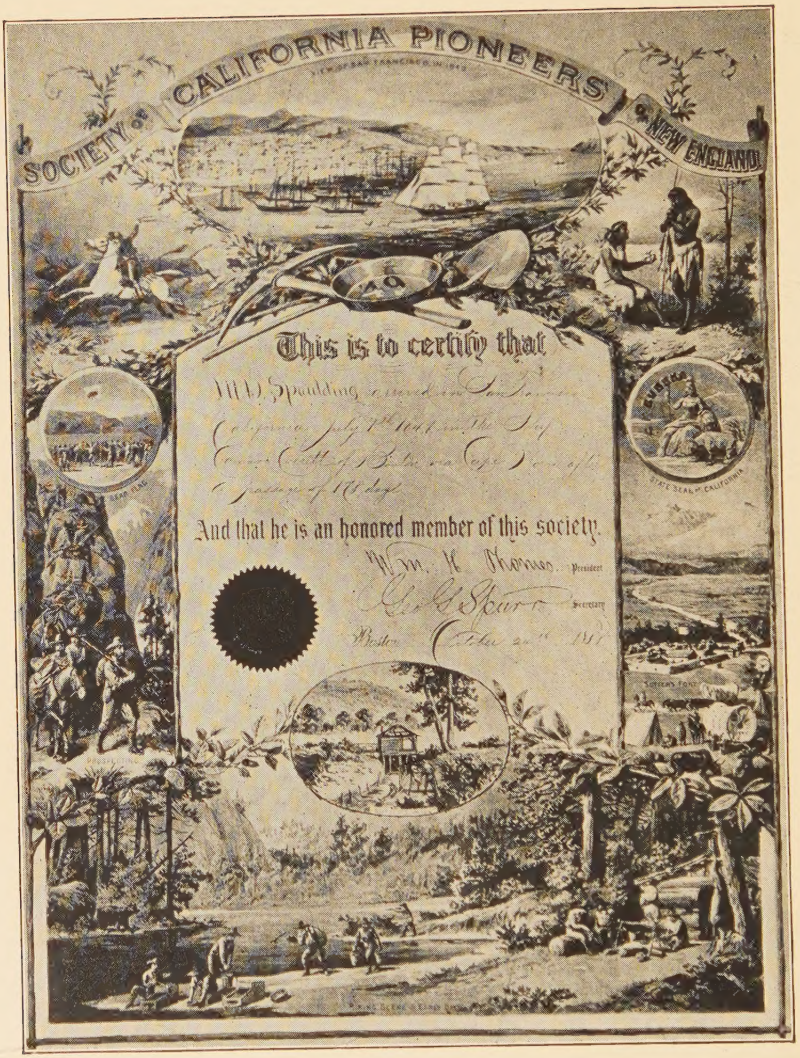
SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS
OF NEW ENGLAND
This is to certify that
And that he is an honored member of this society.

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ARGONAUTS OF '49

HISTORY AND ADVENTURES OF THE EMIGRANT COMPANIES FROM MASSACHUSETTS 1849–1850

BY

OCTAVIUS THORNDIKE HOWE

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PREFACE

This is the story of the companies of adventurers who left Massachusetts for California to acquire wealth and assist in building a new state in a distant and, to them, unknown country. It tells of their passage by sea, of their hard experiences off the Horn and in the gloomy Strait of Magellan, of their life on shipboard and the joyous interlude of visits to South American cities for water and provisions. It tells of their passage overland at a time when the buffalo still roamed the plain and hostile Indians hovered about their camps. It tells of their strange experiences after arrival in California and their good and bad fortune at the diggings. I have prepared this story largely from the records left by the Argonauts themselves, from their private letters, their log books and the minutes and journals of their companies, none of which have yet been published and most of which are in private possession. I have also consulted the libraries and newspapers of California and every Massachusetts newspaper of importance whose files of 1849 have been preserved. To those who have aided me by placing valuable material at my disposal and to those who have given equally valuable advice and encouragement, I am deeply grateful.

O. T. Howe.

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ARGONAUTS OF FORTY-NINE

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

We heard the tramp of Pioneers,
Of nations yet to be,
The first low moan of waves, where soon
There rolled a human sea.

ALTHOUGH much has been published about the California Pioneers, their feverish life in San Francisco, their sufferings and varying fortune at the diggings and their struggles to establish law and order in the state, little has been written about the trials and hardships they went through to get to the Gold Coast, and yet the story of the organization and transportation of companies of pioneers to California in 1849 is a valuable and interesting piece of American history.

Who first discovered gold in California is a matter of doubt, but as the State of California awarded the credit and prize to James W. Marshall, it is only fair to accept their decision. Mr. Marshall was a partner of General Sutter in the lumber business and while building a sawmill discovered a gold nugget in the raceway. This was on January 19, 1848, and the news of the discovery spread rapidly over the whole Pacific coast, so that by the autumn of 1848 some four thousand Mexicans and South Americans had gathered at the gold fields.

The news of the discovery of gold was received in the East with incredulity at first and was not mentioned in the New York papers until September 16, 1848, but as the re-

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ports became more definite and especially when gold from California was brought to eastern ports, incredulity gave way to conviction and the gold fever spread like lightning over the country. Men mortgaged their farms and homes, clerks resigned good positions, storekeepers closed their shops, physicians sold or abandoned their practice, mechanics packed their tools, while many clergymen felt a call to seek the new El Dorado.

Where the idea originated is not clear, but the first flood of emigration was in the form of companies. A number of gentlemen who wished to go to the gold fields would meet and form an association. A President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Board of Directors would be chosen, plans for the trip, whether overland or by sea, decided on, and the number of members desired, determined. Then, either by personal solicitation or advertisement, other gentlemen were invited to join. These companies were socialistic, having Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity for their motto, all paying the same assessment, receiving the same treatment and sharing the profits equally.[1] The price of the shares, or the assessment levied, varied from fifty to one thousand dollars; but every effort was made to induce mechanics or persons of small means to join the company. This was done by selling half shares or lending money to those unable to pay in full, to be repaid from the profits expected on the shares. One Boston gentleman paid the expenses of twelve young men on the ship *Lanerk*, another fitted out a company of twenty-five. The Curtis California Mining Company sold two thousand shares at

[1] Theoretically this was true but practically accommodations on sailing vessels had to be charged for according to the part of the vessel occupied.

five dollars a share to provide ten men with one thousand dollars each to go to California, the men obligating themselves to pay one-sixteenth part of their earnings for two years to the company. The ten were to be selected from the company by lot and each to be insured for two thousand dollars. In Northampton a company was formed with a capital of six thousand dollars, one quarter to be paid in cash and the rest in notes. The company was managed by the Rev. Mr. Tracy, but there is no record of its ever having reached California. So thoroughly convinced were the people of Massachusetts that gold could be acquired in California almost without exertion that it is probable that no honest and healthy man found any trouble in obtaining backers.

The by-laws of these companies were much the same, all forbidding the use of strong liquors with a fine for swearing and gambling. In case of repeated infraction of the laws or general bad conduct, the offender could be expelled from the company and his share forfeited. This, however, could only be done by a two-thirds vote. The number of members in a company varied from six to one hundred and fifty. The larger companies usually appointed a chaplain, a physician and occasionally a company lawyer and home agent. In selecting members great care was exercised to enlist men of good character and those most likely to be of value in an enterprise of this nature. Of professional men there was always an abundance and mechanics were an absolute necessity. If the route chosen was by sea two or three sea captains were always included.

The names chosen for these companies were of much the same character and occasionally duplicated: Ophir, El

Dorado, Newburyport and California Mining Company, names indicative of their purpose, the locality from which they came, and the country to which they were going. Those going overland were often organized as military companies with uniforms and music.

Although these companies were formed under a misconception of actual conditions and all destined to dissolve soon after reaching California, the plan at the time seemed to have many advantages. A body of young men, all from one town or its vicinity, known to each other from boyhood, made a party pleasant to travel with and insured care and financial assistance in case of sickness. There was also an idea at that period that life and property were not safe in California unless men banded together for mutual defence. The socialistic side also appealed to many and the fact that sickness or death would not deprive them or their heirs of the profits of the enterprise. Another supposed advantage was that most of these companies were formed for trading as well as mining purposes. A large number of companies sailing from Massachusetts in '49 owned their ships; this, it seemed, gave them a double advantage: they knew provisions were high in California and by provisioning the vessel for one or two years, they secured a supply for themselves and could sell part at a profit; the remaining space in the vessel could be filled with mining implements, hardware, lumber, and all sorts of luxuries. Some companies carried out steamboats and house frames, and these usually proved profitable. Many carried out patent devices for separating gold from sand and gravel, and these, invented by men who had never seen placer mining, naturally found a resting place on the

dumps of San Francisco. Part of the company sailing on these vessels was to remain in the city, practising their professions or working at their trades, while the rest, provisioned and equipped from the ship's stores, would go to the mines. It was thought the vessel itself could be profitably employed on the Pacific coast.

The theory seemed sound but as a matter of fact none of these schemes worked. In the first place the socialistic plan was a failure. It was found impossible to make a large number of men work for the common good. Some were lazy, some dissipated, some too sick to work and, with one or two exceptions, all the companies disbanded within two or three weeks of their arrival. They had planned that the ship they went out on would either make money running between Panama and San Francisco or remain in harbor, a home for the boys, where those working in the city, the sick or those back from the mines could meet at night and talk over company affairs and count their gains. They did not realize that when they arrived in California it would be impossible to ship a crew, that trading in a dull-sailing, old-fashioned square-rigged ship on the Pacific side was a myth, and that the destiny of almost all company vessels was either to be sold for a song as store or prison ships, or to rot on the sand flats of San Francisco or the banks of the Sacramento. As a home, too, the ship was a failure. There was but one wharf at San Francisco and vessels had to anchor a long way out so that the loss of time in going and coming made the idea impractical. A few companies made some profit on the cargoes carried out but this was the exception. The cost of lightering a cargo in California was greater than the freight from Boston, and the expense of

hiring a building to store the cargo, prohibitive. Sailors could be hired in Boston for the run out to California for a dollar a month, but this was merely working their passage and they meant to, and did, desert the ship as soon as they arrived. By the time the early '49 fleet reached San Francisco labor was receiving fifteen to twenty dollars a day, a little hovel hardly large enough for two people to live in rented for a hundred dollars a month. The Parker House, owned by Mr. Parker of Boston, a rough but well-furnished hotel of moderate size, rented for seventy thousand dollars a year. Eggs were a dollar apiece, milk a dollar a quart, butter a dollar a pound, but prices fluctuated from day to day so that no one could calculate on the future.

The idea that it was necessary to band together for protection was also fallacious, for by June, 1849, when the companies of Massachusetts Adventurers began to arrive on the Gold Coast, life was as safe, property much safer, than in the old Bay State. Based on the information they had at that time, however, the mistake was a natural one, as the following official letters show.

Monterey, Oct. 28, 1848.

GENERAL:

I arrived here from San Diego on the 18th. Have mustered out the 1st. N. York regiment in full. Nearly all the men of Company F. 3rd. Art. have deserted. We have the *Ohio*, *Dale* and *Lexington* in port, but they cannot land a man as they desert as soon as they set foot on shore. Col. Mason and most of the army officers are at Fort Sutter. Commodore Jones does not like to leave a ship here on account of the difficulty of keeping the men.

WILLIAM RICH, *A. P. U. S.*

GEN. N. TOWNSHEND, *P. Gen. U. S. A.*

U. S. S. *OHIO*

San Francisco, Dec. 25, 1848.

DEAR SIR:

Commodore Jones has just informed me that the *Ohio* will sail today for Mazatlan and I take the opportunity to forward a few public letters. Since I wrote you affairs have been getting constantly worse. We have no Government, civil or military, and the country is full of lawless men who are committing the most shocking outrages. Murders and robberies occur daily, almost hourly. Within six weeks we have had 20 murders in a population of less than 15,000. The people are now acting in self defense and four days ago three men were hung by lynch law.

J. FULSOM.

GEN. JESSUP, *Washington, D. C.*

Flag Ship Ohio, Dec. 28, 1848.

Hon. J. J. MASON,
Secretary Navy,

SIR:

When I wrote my last letter I had no conception of the state of things in upper California. For the present I fear it will be impossible to maintain any naval or military force in California. No hope of reward or fear of punishment is sufficient to make binding any contract between man and man on the soil of California. Among the deserters from my squadron are some of the best petty officers and men having only a few months to serve and a large balance due them, amounting in the aggregate to $10,000.

THOMAS AP CATESBY JONES,
Commander in Chief, Pacific Squadron.

At the time of the formation of these companies, then, no one appreciated the condition of things in California. The amount of misinformation was so great, the difficulty of differentiating the true from the false so impossible, that it is no wonder their plans were utopian and impractical.

As soon as a company was organized and its quota partly filled, it was necessary to find a room which would serve as headquarters, and appoint a secretary. In the smaller cities and towns the room was usually furnished by contributions from those interested: an old table, some dilapidated chairs, a sofa and of course an air-tight stove was all that was necessary. This room then became the village club, taking the place even of that favorite lounging place, the country store. Here every evening, and often in the daytime, the would-be Argonauts gathered and gave each other advice on subjects of which they knew nothing, exhibited the useless things they had accumulated for the trip and talked learnedly of dry and wet diggings, placers, nuggets, and all sorts of things of which they knew the vocabulary but not the substance.

Company after company was formed, not only in New England and other eastern sections but also in foreign countries. France was very prolific of them and companies, under such names as Golden Hive, Golden West, and Golden Harvest, were exploited in large numbers. The London *Times* of February 1, 1849, reports that one million two hundred thousand pounds had already been invested in England in California gold companies. Germany, Japan, China, and Australia also sent companies. The Cherokee Indians in this country sent a company and the Methodists one, each member to be of that denomination.

Sometime in 1849 a Mrs. Farnham of New York, who had been matron at Sing Sing, came to Boston to interest its citizens in a plan to organize a company of women to go out to California. She had chartered a vessel, the *Angelique*, and proposed to charge two hundred dollars for each

member, with the privilege of remaining thirty days on the vessel after arriving at San Francisco. It was expected there would be no difficulty in finding positions for these women at remunerative wages. Laundresses at San Francisco at this time were receiving twelve hundred dollars a year, and clerks, bookkeepers, and nurses prices proportional. The company was to be called the California Association of American Women, but Mrs. Farnham seems to have been unsuccessful, for her party, which sailed in the *Angelique* sometime in May, consisted of herself, one maiden lady, two widows, and fifteen male passengers. Mrs. Farnham and Captain Winsor of the *Angelique* quarreled on the voyage and at Valparaiso, where they put in for provisions, she was warned to return at a certain time or the ship would sail without her. She did not return as notified and the vessel sailed leaving her stranded in the city. A subscription was raised in Valparaiso and she was sent on to California, arriving two weeks after the *Angelique*. She sued Captain Winsor for fifteen thousand dollars and lost her case.

Another interesting company was that which went out to California under Captain George Kimball, of Frankfort, Maine. Mr. Kimball, without means or credit, started in to form a company and build a vessel for the California trade. He chose the little village of Cutler, Maine, for his project and went into the woods alone and began to cut the timber for the vessel. He was soon joined by a friend and others followed: neighbors contributed provisions and farmers cattle. Soon the novelty of the undertaking and the pluck of the man attracted shipwrights and joiners. All work was paid for in shares of the vessel, the shares be-

ing valued at one hundred dollars. The vessel, named *The California Packet*, was launched November 29, 1849. She was 144 feet long, 30 wide, and 15½ deep. She had a house on deck with twelve staterooms besides officers' quarters, a house forward twenty-five feet long for cooking and washing, and thirty-six tiers of berths between decks for two persons each. Her company, one hundred strong, consisted of twelve married and sixteen unmarried women, and fifteen children, the balance being men. All aboard were shareholders. She carried out a freight from Boston valued at fifteen thousand dollars and made a good voyage.

As soon as a company had organized and partly filled its quota, the question came up what route they should take. Those who lived near the sea and could afford to buy or charter a vessel had of course already decided the question, but for those going overland there was quite a choice. Panama was the shortest, Mexico the best advertised, and the Santa Fe and South Pass the best known. But whatever the route decided on great preparation was necessary, especially for those going by sea. The vessel had to be bought and overhauled, provisions purchased, cargo secured and all the paraphernalia, needed or thought to be needed, bought and put away. Biscuit and firearm factories ran day and night, ship chandlers and marine railroads were crowded with business, tailors and shoemakers reaped a rich harvest and even the pawnbrokers had such a business as they had never known before.

New England at this period presented much the appearance of an unprepared nation about to go to war, and, except that artillery was not in demand, the preparation was far greater than for the war with Mexico, just concluded. More shipping, more men, and more firearms were assem-

bled than for any other expedition that had left the Bay State. Although not then appreciated, the danger and mortality were to be greater than attended a war in those times. Cholera alone cost more lives on the plains in '49 than sufficed to win the battle of Buena Vista or storm the heights of Chapultepec. All possible disasters were in the future, however, and still the enthusiasm grew. Meetings were held nightly at society headquarters and plans discussed. Members of a society could be told by their slouched hats, high boots, careless attire and a general appearance of reckless daring and potential wealth. Books about California and Mexico were eagerly sought and read and all sorts of useless impedimenta collected for supposed exigencies. A list of necessaries for each person for one year was circulated among the companies, which, if carried out, would have made the cost of the trip to California almost prohibitive. The list was as follows: One barrel of salt pork, ten barrels of salt beef, one hundred pounds of ham, ten barrels of ship bread, ten pounds of salt, forty pounds of butter or cheese, tea, sugar, and spice sufficient for a year, three pairs woolen pantaloons, two woolen coats, two woolen overcoats, two cotton coats, six pairs of shoes, twelve pairs of stockings and sufficient underclothing. There were of course enough mariners in our seaport towns who knew how to properly provision and fit out a vessel but the impossibility of convincing men of how little they really needed is shown by the following extract from a letter written home by a man whose company went overland through Mexico:

Imagine to yourself a man on a cream-colored horse with a Spanish saddle, a pair of boots hanging on each side, a large roll of bedding strapped behind, a pair of horse pistols in their hol-

sters, a big canteen, a grass bag full of corn for the horse, thirty feet of rope for a halter, a leather belt in which are thrust two revolvers, a powder flask, a bag containing musket and pistol balls, a musket strapped across the saddle, a change of clothes and a bowie knife. The rest of my baggage is carried on a mule of which we have one for every three persons.

As the time for departure approached, in conformity with an old New England custom, the members of a society marched in a body to some church and there received a sermon of admonition and warning.

No regiment in Cromwell's Ironsides ever went to battle with more Bibles or more religious instruction than the California mining and trading companies of '49. When the day of departure came and they marched down to the ship or the railroad station throngs of their relations and friends accompanied them and all tried to feel that they were marching on to good fortune and not risking all on a dubious game. Some there were who at the last moment drew back, forfeited their passage money, and returned home and more would have doubtless done so had not pride restrained them. On more than one occasion, parents went to the wharf in a vain endeavor to keep their boy at home.

Although care was taken to select only men of good character, there were some in these companies who had other reasons than love of gold or adventure to cause them to leave New England. A few, at least, fled from their creditors or hoped, in a land where law and order did not reign, to lead freer and more dissolute lives. Some left for the good of their country or families. But take them all together these societies represented all that was best and manliest in the old Bay State: literally armed with Bible

and rifle they went forth to gain wealth and build up a new community. A year later when California was ruled by a mob of cutthroats and gamblers, when neither life nor property was safe and the law itself corrupt or timid, it was from these men and others like them that the Vigilance Committee was recruited and San Francisco made a place where men could live and do business. The loss to Massachusetts was great but the gain to California was greater.

Chapter II

THE OVERLAND ROUTES TO CALIFORNIA

The roaring camp fire with rude humor painted,
The ruddy tints of health,
On haggard face and form that drooped and fainted
In the fierce race for wealth.

One of the first questions to decide after the organization of a company was the route by which they would seek the California gold fields. There were several routes, each offering certain advantages: the all water by Cape Horn, the land and water routes by Panama or Mexico, and the Santa Fe and Gila route, or that by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. The Panama route was at this time considered much the shorter, as indeed it was, and also much quicker, as it frequently was not. By a fortuitous occurrence the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been organized, April 12, 1848, under a contract with the United States Government to carry the mail twice a month from Panama to San Francisco. The company started with a fleet of three steamers, the *California*, the *Oregon*, and the *Panama*. The business on the Atlantic side was conducted by the Atlantic Steamship Company, under contract to carry the mails from New York to Chagres, so timed as to connect with the Pacific Mail vessels at Panama. Passengers and mail were to be carried across the Isthmus in forty-eight hours or less.

The Pacific Mail vessels were of course built on the Atlantic side and the one first completed, the *California*, started for California, October 6, 1848, under Captain Forbes. On the voyage Captain Forbes was taken sick and Captain Marshall took his place. The *California* arrived at San Francisco, February 28, 1849, and every officer but one and all the crew deserted her at once and started for the mines. The *Oregon* left New York some time in November and arrived at San Francisco April 1, 1849. The captain of the *Oregon* managed to keep part of his crew by putting them in irons. The last of the three vessels, the *Panama*, reached San Francisco about May 1, 1849.

The *Falcon*, the first of the Atlantic Steamship's boats, left New York December 1, 1848, and reached Chagres at a time calculated to make connection with the Pacific Mail's boat, the *California*. But the *California* was twenty-five days late and the *Falcon's* passengers, after crossing the Isthmus, were obliged to wait that time in wretched quarters in a city where the death rate was twelve a day and the only amusements, cockfighting and gambling. Meanwhile the *California* had stopped at Callao and done what her agent considered a good stroke of business by filling the staterooms with Peruvians, so that when she finally anchored off Panama the passengers from the *Falcon*, who held tickets from New York to San Francisco, found their rooms occupied. The result was a riot which was finally terminated by turning out the Peruvians and giving their rooms to those holding through tickets, but more tickets had been sold than there were berths and staterooms, so that the *California* finally sailed

with the Peruvians camping on deck and one hundred and sixty-eight passengers, who held through tickets, crowded into the steerage with hogs, goats, cows, and a bull as companions. It was this uncertainty whether the boats would connect that made the Panama route, even to those holding tickets, a somewhat doubtful venture. To those not holding tickets the Panama route was hell. If everything went right, however, it was the shortest and quickest route from the East to California.

The town of Chagres, the terminal of the Atlantic Steamship Company, was a wretched collection of adobe huts and the harbor so shallow that steamers had to anchor a long way out. It was a place almost every one was anxious to get away from and yet some of the California adventurers found it delightful. Those who were not detained long in the place or its vicinity, especially those having money enough to stop at one of the two third-rate hotels, the St. Charles and Astor House, coming into the place after a rough and tedious voyage, ignored the discomforts and saw only its tropical beauty: the orange and lemon trees hung with golden fruit, the many varieties of palms, the banana and plantain trees, the gorgeous butterflies, the strange orchids, and the green jungle where gayly colored parrots fluttered among the leaves and countless monkeys chattered from the tree tops. But to a man who was obliged to live in a native hut or camp in the open the picture was different. As one of the members of the Massasoit Company wrote home: "The animated nature which most attracted my attention at Chagres was the lizards, the pelicans, and the niggers." The man who slept in a native hut, if the mosquitoes and bugs allowed

him to sleep at all, might awake in the morning to find a rattlesnake coiled on his bed and a centipede in one shoe and a scorpion in the other. Chagres, even to those who saw its beauties, was a place almost every one was anxious to get away from. The distance from New York to Chagres was twenty-five hundred, from Chagres to Panama sixty, and from Panama to San Francisco thirty-five hundred miles. Tickets on the steamer from Panama to San Francisco were, nominally, three hundred and fifty dollars for the first cabin and three hundred for the second.

There were eleven companies sailing from Massachusetts that chose the Panama route: the Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the Sandwich and Cape Cod, the Massasoit, the Holyoke–Northampton, the Nantucket, the Worcester County, the Boston and Newburyport, a company from Enfield which joined the Holyoke at New York, a company from Wareham, Massachusetts, the Ware Mining and Trading Company, and one unnamed company.

The city of Panama, where so many adventurers were destined to spend weeks in weary waiting, was a decayed Spanish city, better than Chagres but inferior to Rio, Callao, and Valparaiso, where those going by Cape Horn were accustomed to stop. A gentleman taking the Panama route gives his opinion of the place as follows:

It is now two weeks since we arrived at this city and I tell you I am tired of it. No society, no amusements, no pretty women, in fact, nothing to interest or take up one's time in any way. Panama is a dull, dilapidated place, nothing to be seen but the ruins of its former magnificence. Cathedrals, monuments, and temples meet your eyes at every corner, all of them once splen-

did edifices but now tumbling to the ground. The people all have the same appearance. The women never wear bonnets, but those who can afford it wear in their place a rebosa, which is no more or less than a long scarf thrown over the head and shoulders. The majority go barefooted. You may walk the whole length of the street and not see a single person with a pair of shoes on properly. Where they have any they are turned down at the heel and they shuffle along without lifting the foot from the ground. The dogs, cats, pigs, and mules are all the same cast as the inhabitants. We have engaged passage on the sch. *Constellation* at $200 a head and sail next week. It will be terrible crossing in a month or two. The ponies and mules are all worn out and passengers still flock in. Some of the men are losing money at monte and betting on cock fights. I went to a bull fight once and that was enough. Tell our friends if they come out to bring plenty of money, they will need it fast enough.

One of the first companies to start was the Boston and Newburyport Mining Company. It sailed from Boston for Chagres, February 24, 1849, on the schooner *Edwin*, and after a voyage of eighteen days made that port. Their first letters home speak of the tropical beauty of Chagres and their general satisfaction with the trip. The next day they proceeded up the river, having made a bargain with the natives to take them to Gorgona for ten dollars a head. They made eighteen miles the first day and slept that night in a native hut. The next morning the native boatmen refused to go on unless paid sixty dollars more and they yielded to their demands. They walked all day by the river, their baggage in the canoes, and amused themselves by shooting monkeys and other game,

sleeping that night in a small ranch house, called the Three Sisters. The next day they walked ten miles and reached the village of Gorgona. Here they made a bargain with the natives to carry them over the mountains to Panama for three hundred dollars, the baggage on mules and bullocks. A mule's load was reckoned at two hundred and a bullock's at four hundred pounds. The price for the baggage was ten dollars a hundred pounds. They found the journey over the mountains very fatiguing and Panama not all they had expected. They waited a long time at Panama, some of the party were sick, some lost their money at monte, and when the steamer arrived they had not sufficient money to purchase first or second-class tickets, costing at that time four hundred to six hundred dollars, and thought themselves lucky to obtain passage on the bark *Circassian*, one hundred and ten tons, at two hundred dollars a head. They sold part of their provisions to obtain money for their tickets and hoped their troubles were all over, but as a matter of fact they had just begun. The *Circassian* sailed May 5 as well provisioned as most vessels sailing from Panama, but encountered adverse winds which drove her south as far as the equator and many barrels of beef and pork were spoiled by the heat. The vessel leaked so as to require constant pumping and the crew became mutinous. The long voyage, ninety-one days, necessitated putting the passengers on very short rations of food and water, so that for the last three weeks they were allowed only one pint of water, two ounces of jerked beef, so wormy that it would crawl, and four ounces of ship bread full of maggots, served once a day at 4 P.M. There was flour aboard, but no water could be spared to

cook it. At one time the passengers broke into the hold and found some salt pork which they devoured raw. Water, when any one would sell it, brought eighty cents a pint and salt beef two dollars a pound. They reached San Francisco sometime in August and soon after the company dissolved.

Another company taking the Panama route was the Massasoit Mining and Trading Company. The company was formed in Lowell and numbered twenty-five with Dr. Abbe as president. They sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on the schooner *Harriet Neal* and at first found Chagres, their port of landing, a most delightful place. "I should like to live there," writes one of the company. They went up the river in canoes at the contract price of eight dollars a head, including baggage. The first day they found game plenty and shot four monkeys which, to their disgust, the natives ate, saying "Bueno, bueno!" They found the scenery delightful, but suffered from the heat and longed for ice cream and Roman punch. The second night they slept out of doors with nothing to eat. The next day they reached Gorgona and sent forward two of the party to find out their chance of a passage to San Francisco. The two gentlemen returned and reported that there were hundreds of men waiting and no passage possible for a long time. They determined to stay where they were for a time and built themselves a shack where they made and sold doughnuts to the passers-by and cleared twenty dollars the first day. They waited there three weeks and finally started for Panama on foot, sending their baggage by mules at a cost of twenty dollars a head. They covered the twenty-five miles to Panama in one day

and one of their number writes to his family, "Panama is a fine place, the streets are narrow with overhanging houses and there is a fine plaza in the centre of the city. Most of the walking is done on the ramparts where there are old brass cannon beautifully engraved and decorated, left there by the Spaniards. It is great fun to see the troops drill; they wear white cotton trowsers, frock coats of the same, blue caps trimmed with red flannel, and go barefoot. Sunday I went to a cockfight and saw twenty killed. We live well, have breakfast at ten A.M., omelet, boiled eggs, beefsteak, plantains, bread, and coffee. Dinner: game, soup, chickens, bananas, and oranges. There is a great deal of gambling here and some of the Company have lost money at monte."

The Massasoit Company remained several weeks at Panama and finally shipped on the schooner *Two Friends* and were four months making the passage to San Francisco, almost as long as a voyage from Boston around the Horn would have taken.

The Holyoke and Northampton Mining and Trading Company, Richard Chenery, president, sailed from Boston for Chagres, February 4, 1849, on bark *S. L. Crowell* with a company of twenty-one members. One of the party writes home, "We have arrived at Chagres, a little village of fifty huts, part with open roofs of one story. The population consists of three hundred natives. The castle at the mouth of the river is two hundred years old and contains eighty beautifully engraved cannon. Board is five dollars a day in a hut with a large sample of all the abominable reptiles which these poisonous regions afford. We drew lots to see who goes up the Chagres River first and God

help us when we leave. At Cruces there are no mules and when we get to Panama no boat or vessel to take us to the gold fields; but we have set our lives on a cast and we must stand the hazard of the die." The company went as far as Gorgona and then sent a deputation on to Panama to see what the chance of a passage was. The delegation returned and reported that about twelve hundred would-be passengers were enrolled waiting for a passage to San Francisco, and at a meeting held March 4, it was found two hundred had no funds and those having tickets bought in January could see no chance of getting through before May.

After a long delay at Panama the company hired two small vessels and sailed for San Francisco, which they reached some time in August. One of the two schooners carrying the company stopped at Monterey, California, and the president, Mr. Chenery, left the vessel and proceeded to San Francisco on horseback. August 21 he writes from San Francisco:

Our voyage has been so long, the expense of so many ports, the high price of provisions and being obliged to send 25 of our passengers from Panama to this place in another vessel, costing us four thousand dollars, make our speculation of little value, but we shall get out with a whole skin and save something. All the gold in California would not tempt me to have anything more to do with carrying gentlemen adventurers in the steerage of a vessel again. I travelled through some as fine country as ever I saw between Monterey and Francisco, a distance of 125 miles by land. The journey took me by the way of the San Juan Mission, through a beautiful valley filled with cattle and horses in droves of 2000.

Our Company are all in good health without exception. Prouty, Bosworth, Cushing, Neal, Clark, and Allen left last Sat. for the mines which now seem within their grasp, the balance of us leave tomorrow.

The Sandwich and Cape Cod Mining and Trading Company sailed from New York for Chagres, Panama, and California on the S. S. *Ohio* some time in November, 1849, and, warned by the experience of other companies, requested or required each member to take with him at least four hundred and fifty dollars, to meet any assessments that might thereafter be laid. The delay at Panama even to those holding through tickets to San Francisco, owing to the irregular service of the Steamship Company, made this provision of great advantage. In some cases gentlemen went on to the neighboring island of Tobago and there awaited the steamer, thus avoiding the unhealthy and crowded city of Panama. One adventurer from Plymouth, Massachusetts, gives an interesting account of a celebration of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the island of Tobago while waiting for the steamer.

I met Capt. S. S. Turner at the N. York hotel, where I was boarding, and he kindly invited me to go on board his ship *Iconium*, belonging to D. & A. Jackson of Plymouth, and make that my home while waiting the sailing of the *Panama*. Last Saturday, Dec. 22nd, the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth was celebrated at the Island of Tobago in fine style. At the suggestion of Capt. Turner, Capt. Bailey of the steamship *Panama*, and Capt. Starbuck of the ship *Anulahac* fired cannon from their ships at sunrise, eight o'clock and sunset. All the ships in the harbor, including several English vessels, displayed flags and streamers and in fact threw everything they

had in the way of bunting to the wind and made quite an imposing display. Flag-staffs were erected on shore by Charles and Horace Jackson and Capt. Barstow, an Old Colony man from Hanover, Mass. All this was done with the permission of the Alcalde and when the sunrise gun boomed over the water the Stars and Stripes and the flag of New Granada were sent aloft amid the shouts and cheers of the inhabitants of the Island and the Americans and English present.

It is said that this was the first time that the American flag had been raised on the island, though of course the ships in the harbor had flown their own colors. A dinner in honor of the day was served that evening on board the *Iconium* and roast turkey and apple sauce, succotash and hasty pudding, with a dessert of oranges fresh from the trees, and all sorts of tropical fruits were among the good things on the table. After the dinner there were the usual speeches, sentiments, and toasts, but they were all drunk in the water and not the liquor of the island.

The writer has no information concerning the other overland companies taking the Panama route, but a gentleman on one of them, name of the company not given, writes home, "I have no time to give reasons, but in saying it I utter the united sentiment of every passenger whom I have heard speak, it is this, and I say it in fear of God and the love of man, to one and all, for no consideration come this route. I have nothing to say of the other routes but do not take this."

Panama was a route for the rich only and even they had their troubles — cholera, dysentery, and yellow fever claimed many victims and hundreds returned in despair to their own homes. Others took passage to some South

American port and then sailed from there for California. Mr. Read of the Holyoke Company writes home, "On reaching Panama I saw no prospect of getting a ticket for San Francisco and took passage on a vessel bound for Callao and then shipped for San Francisco on the ship *Massachusetts*, Captain Nickerson, with one hundred and ten other passengers. We had good food aboard and little sickness." The vessel arrived at San Francisco, June 8, and Mr. Read had made the passage from Boston in one hundred and twenty-four days, beating those of his company who remained at Panama by many weeks.

Eight companies chose the Mexican route, the Essex Overland Mining and Trading Company under Captain Waters, the Lowell Mining Company under Captain Cutter, the Hampden Mining Company under Captain Harding, the Marblehead Company under Captain Blaney, the New England Pioneers under Captain Paul, the Rough and Ready Company under Captain Fogg, a North Adams Company under Captain J. C. Fields, and the Berkshire and California Mining Company. The Mexican route was shorter in distance than any other overland route except that across the Isthmus, and its choice by so many companies was largely due to the influence of army officers just returned from the late war with Mexico. Those who had served with General Scott knew the route from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico and those who had been with General Taylor knew Monterey and the road to the sea-coast, but they did not realize the difference between travel under ordinary conditions and those which attended the gold excitement. They reckoned the time by a sailing vessel from New Orleans to Vera Cruz as eighteen days;

from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, two hundred and eighty miles on horseback, as nine days; from City of Mexico to Mazatlan on the Pacific side, nine hundred miles, twenty days; from Mazatlan to San Francisco, thirty-five days, making the whole time from New York to San Francisco four months. In making this calculation they assumed that horses and mules could be bought or hired in Mexico at a very low price and that vessels would be waiting at Mazatlan to take them to California, while as a matter of fact, as soon as the Mexicans realized the situation the prices of cattle rose rapidly and the difficulty of finding a vessel at Mazatlan was almost as great as at Panama. Mazatlan was a place where they had a revolution every two weeks and an impossible town to live in. A variation of this route was to land at Corpus Christi, cross over into Mexico at Laredo, and reach Mazatlan via Monterey.

There were two Massachusetts companies which chose the route via Vera Cruz and both had cause to regret it. The first, the New England Pioneers, consisted of former members of the Massachusetts militia and were organized in true military style. The company consisted of seventeen young men, mostly from Boston and its suburbs, armed to the teeth with rifles, revolvers, swords, and bowie knives and accompanied by three powerful bulldogs and a Scotch terrier. They were commanded by Captain A. Paul, late of Massachusetts Volunteers, with Captain Charles F. Rice of Lowell as First Lieutenant, Jonathan A. Gavett of Boston, Quartermaster, Charles Luscomb of Boston, Commissary, and Henry Hoskins of Gardiner, Maine, Paymaster.

They left Boston January 12 by rail, going to New Orleans via Charleston. At New Orleans they took passage on the schooner *Nancy Bishop* for Vera Cruz, paying twelve dollars each for a deck passage. It had been planned they should go as cavalry, but when they reached Vera Cruz only four of the company could procure horses and the rest went on foot. Captain Paul wrote home from Mexico that he had a fine time on the journey; probably he was one of the four who rode. At Vera Cruz they disposed of everything not considered necessary, hired a man to take the rest of the baggage to Jalapa and started on the march to Mexico City. Soon after their departure they were joined by Captain Hungerford and Lieutenant Wilson, of the New York Volunteers, and others joined later, increasing the number to twenty-seven.

On the fourth day they came to Cerro Gordo where General Scott stormed the pass and defeated the Mexicans. The ground was still strewn with grape shot and cannon balls and the fragments of discarded accoutrements. On their arrival at Jalapa they sold some of their baggage and bought horses for those who had none. They passed through Puebla and reached the City of Mexico on the twelfth day. One of the company writes to a friend, "The City of Mexico is a hard old place. To walk the streets safely you must carry a revolver in each hand and keep your eyes skinned. The first night we were here we went to a bath-house and while taking a bath were robbed of one hundred dollars. We went to the Alcalde the next day for redress and found he owned the house. There is no safety here for Americans from assassination. This is by far the best route for those of limited means as you can

travel through the country for almost nothing. You can buy horses for ten or twelve dollars and it costs only fifty cents a day to keep them. It is also the quickest route." All routes were the quickest when the company started, but apt to be the slowest when they arrived.

Leaving the City of Mexico they passed through Guadalaxara and March 8 gained San Blas and the sea. So far everything had gone fairly well, but their troubles were just beginning. They hired a house at San Blas and the next day attended a fandango where some of the Americans — there were twenty-eight in town — quarrelled with the Mexicans and a general fight ensued. Some Englishmen present joined with the Americans and pistols and knives were used on both sides. After a hot battle the Mexicans were driven away with the loss of one man killed and several wounded. The company notified the alcalde that if he did not keep the Mexicans quiet they would sack the town. At San Blas the company separated and Captain Paul, Lieutenant Rice, and Charles Austin took passage on the bark *Mary Frances* for Mazatlan, at one hundred dollars for the trip, pledging their baggage for the money. The balance of the party in some way also reached Mazatlan and bought the schooner *Diana* and when Captain Paul and his two friends arrived agreed to take them with them to California for forty-five dollars each. The reunited company set sail March 8, but the vessel was old and leaky and they had to put in to San José where the schooner was condemned. Again the company divided and Captain Paul and some of the members sold what property they could and bought eight horses and started for San Francisco, twenty-three hundred miles away.

Soon the horses gave out and they were obliged to walk. They carried a small amount of corn in their haversacks and lived on that as long as it lasted and then ate rattlesnakes, cacti, and shell-fish. They were two days without water and three days without food and two of them walked seven hundred miles barefoot. It took them fifty-one days to reach San Diego, where they found friends. The balance of the company remained stranded at San José and worked at small jobs for what money they could get until May 4 when eight of them got back to Mazatlan, which they had left forty days before, and took passage on the steamer *Edith*, paying twelve hundred dollars and a bonus of twenty-five dollars each for the voyage to San Francisco. It is not stated how they raised the money. November 1, 1849, Captain Paul writes from Tuolumne, at the mines: "All is not gold that glitters. I have averaged ten dollars a day and it has cost me that to live. Do not come here by Mexico or Lower California."

The Rough and Ready Company, Captain Fogg, sailed from New York on the S. S. *Greyhound* for Vera Cruz, to go overland via the City of Mexico to Mazatlan and San Francisco. They had much the same experience as the Pioneers, breaking up at Mazatlan and making their way to California as best they could.

The Essex Overland Mining and Trading Company, Captain Waters, consisting largely of Salem and Beverly men, sailed, March 1, 1849, on the schooner *John W. Herbert* and arrived safe, but the vessel was wrecked at Aransas Pass on her return. Corpus Christi was a town of about five hundred inhabitants, twenty-five miles up the bay from Aransas Inlet. One of the party writes, "This is

a pleasant place of about fifty houses. Climate delightful. Morals bad. Every one carries a knife and the way they drink is not slow. We have purchased forty-five horses and mules at thirty-five dollars apiece." Warren Prince of Beverly was a member of the company and kept a diary of which we quote a part.

Sat. *March 20.* Pitched our tents outside the town of Corpus Christi.

Sund. " *21.* A norther. Spent the rest of the week buying horses, mules, wagons, and provisions. Tents flooded.

Mond. *April 2.* Marched 12 miles to water. Saw herds of wild horses.

Thurs. " *5.* Started at 7 A.M. A beautiful prairie covered with flowers. Passed some Comanche Indians. Made 14 miles and camped, ten more in the afternoon.

Friday, " *6.* Started at half-past six and travelled until 6 P.M. No water, killed several rattlesnakes.

Sat. " *7.* Started at 5.30, water all gone from canteens and sun burning hot. Reached water at 5 P.M. Have travelled 25 miles without food or water. Sunday rested.

Tuesday, " *10.* In camp until 2 P.M. resting. Started then and saw many beautiful birds. 13 Mexicans driving a herd of mustangs overtook us and stopped and talked with us. Marched 8 miles in the desert and had to take all our baggage from the wagons and pack it on the mules. Camped at 8 P.M.

Weds. *April 11.* Started at 9, marched five miles and stopped at a spring of water. A muddy hole with five dead bulls lying in it. Smelt so bad the animals would hardly drink.

Thurs. " *12.* Started at 9. Marched 2 miles and came to a dry river, dug for water and found none. Travelled by moonlight and found no water. Could not sleep.

Friday, " *13.* Started at midnight and stopped at 6 for breakfast. Started again at nine and walked all day without food or water. Camped within three miles of Laredo. Sent Mr. Robinson who returned with three Mexicans bringing food and water.

Sunday, " *15.* In camp this side of Laredo. Cold norther and rain. This is the most God forsaken country I ever heard of. Laredo has about 1500 inhabitants, mostly half-breeds and niggers with a few Americans. It has one small church. This morning Charles F. Boyden was taken with cholera and soon after David E. Parker came down.

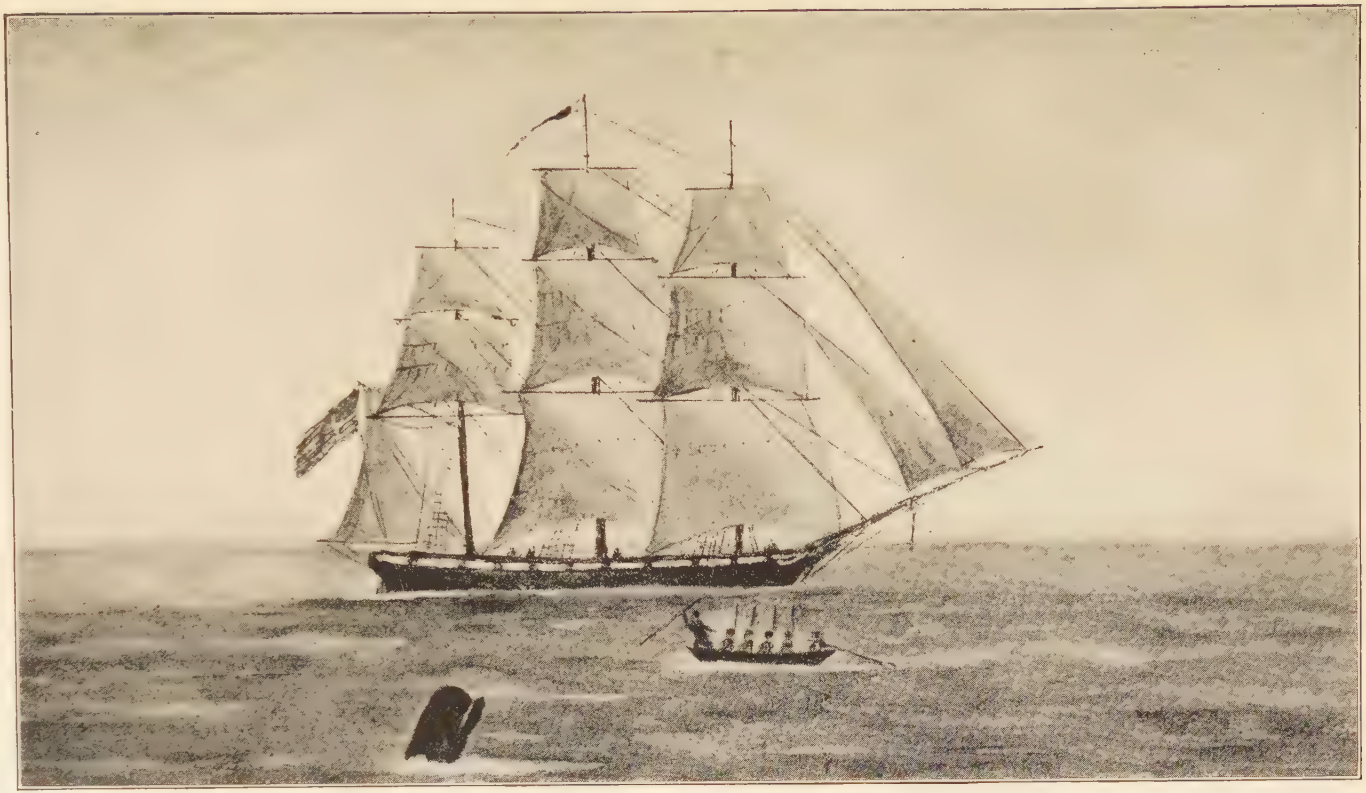
Monday " *16.* Mr. Boyden died this morning and soon after Mr. Parker followed. Mr. Jones and several others sick.

Tuesday, " *17.* I am very weak, Parker died today.

That afternoon the company crossed the Rio Grande, swimming the animals over with great difficulty, and camped nine miles from Laredo. The next day Mr. Cox and Mr. Walton were taken with cholera and Walton died the same evening and Cox the following morning.

Warren Prince and Mr. Copeland were both sick and the company felt obliged to leave them at Laredo. Both gentlemen recovered rapidly and after some days took passage on a barge bound down the river. They had rather a pleasant time on the trip, shooting turkeys and catching turtles, and arrived at Rio Grande City in five days, just in time to witness a duel between Colonel Walter Hicky, editor of the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, and a man by the name of Moses. They fought with double-barrelled shotguns and Colonel Hicky was shot in the abdomen and died in an hour. Warren Prince and Mr. Copeland went on to Galveston, whence they took passage to New York and reached home in June.

The balance of the Overland Company continued their march through Mexico, losing three more members by cholera — Charles Robinson of Lynn, Lewis E. Taylor of Whitesfield, and Caleb Dresser of Salem. They arrived at Mazatlan June 15, having made the one thousand miles from Corpus Christi to the coast in seventy-four days. At Mazatlan they shipped on the schooner *Greyhound*, Captain Nye, a small vessel of one hundred and fifteen tons, and arrived at Frisco in fifty days. The latter part of the voyage they ran short of food and water and were put on short allowance and had not Mr. Chapman of Salem, using the tin plates of the company, found means to distill sea water, so that each man had a pint of water a day, they would have died of thirst. As it was, at one time five dollars was offered and refused for a pint of water. Half the company had to sleep on deck and they were fed on locomotive biscuit and mahogany beef, and very little of that. They were at Sacramento, August 23, and there



SHIP *ELIZABETH*

From a painting after an engraving on a whale's tooth

Jonathan Dean died and was buried at Sutter's Fort. It is no wonder that one of the company wrote that all the gold in California would not tempt him to repeat the trip.

On November 4, 1849, Mr. Brooks of the Essex Overland writes home, from Sacramento: "I hear that many are coming here from Salem. Ninety-nine out of a hundred will be disappointed; many go home as they came out and many will never go home. It is very sickly here. I had to return from the mines on that account. I went at once on board the *Elizabeth* of Salem. November 30 we celebrated Thanksgiving; beefsteak and mince-pie for breakfast, salmon, corn, mutton, and plum-pudding for dinner."

A company from Marblehead under President Nathan Blaney also chose the Mexican route via Brazos, which they reached March 22 and the next day went up the Rio Grande. They remained at Brownsville until all necessary preparations for the trip had been made and on the twenty-ninth crossed over to Matamoras. The next day they started across the country and had gone but two miles when a heavy rain squall came on. They spent the night in a farmhouse, cold and wet and all feeling rather blue. At six o'clock the next morning they hitched the mules to the wagons and started three teams: one from Boston, one from New York, and one from Marblehead. Four or five of the company went on horseback. No one felt well but no one complained until they arrived at the first watering place, seven miles from Matamoras, where three of the party threw themselves on the ground and were plainly unable to go farther. That night Mr. Blaney died and the next morning Mr. Oliver died also. The deaths of Mr. Blaney and Mr. Oliver discouraged the

party and the company with one exception returned home. One gentleman joined another company and reached California.

The Hampden Mining and Trading Company of Westfield started from Springfield January 25, 1849, to go to California via the Rio Grande and Mexico. They sent their baggage around the Horn and sailed from New York on the schooner *John Eastner*. They were all seasick on the passage and when they arrived at Brazos expressed themselves as never wishing to see the ocean again and ready to go on their hands and knees to California if necessary, so long as it was overland. They reorganized at Brazos and are said to have broken up at Monterey.

A company from Lowell, under Captain Cutter, also went by the Texas-Mexican route and all the writer knows of them is a letter from Brownsville, Texas, dated February 6: "Brownsville is full of blacklegs and gamblers, not a school or church in the place. We start at seven for Mazatlan."

Dr. J. E. Field, a member of the Berkshire and California Company, writes from Chihuahua that Temple and Rice separated from the company at Monterey and the rest started for Mazatlan to go by ship to San Francisco. Temple and Rice had joined a party of eighty who were going all the way by land, leaving Monterey March 16.

The Corpus Christi *Gazette* of February 24, 1849, reports that a Massachusetts company, name not given, under guidance of Colonel Abbott, was at Laredo, sixty miles this side the Presidio and that Colonel Everton was to take charge after crossing. Mr. People, Mr. Ross, and in fact the whole crowd were in good health and spirits.

The choice of either of the Mexican routes in '49 seems to have been unfortunate, as smallpox and cholera were prevalent throughout the country and the adventurers were involved in frequent affrays with the Mexicans who deeply resented the contemptuous and insulting behavior of some of the Americans.

The overland routes through United States territory are all closely connected with the old Santa Fe trail. It was first opened in 1823 and ran from Westport, now Kansas City, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. It was not a well marked road but a network of various trails, so arranged as to provide water at regular intervals. Its history was both romantic and interesting. Coronado had explored part of it in his search for gold. Later it had been the scene of many battles between the Mexicans and the wild Indians of the plains. It was the old Spanish trail to California. Kit Carson had ridden it and Fremont used it in his expeditions and over it passed the caravan trade between the East and West. The average caravan consisted of twenty-six wagons drawn by five yoke of oxen or a span of ten mules, each wagon carrying from five thousand to seven thousand pounds. The drivers walked by the side of their teams, wielding their long lashed bull-hide whips and swearing in a manner supposed to be necessary and peculiar to the plains. A line of horsemen, fully armed, rode on each flank, while the hunters, attached to the caravan, scoured the plain for miles to obtain game and to look out for Indians. An average day's journey was seventeen miles but always if possible to water. If the caravan routed by the Cimarron cut-off, the distance to be covered from Westport or Independence to Santa Fe was

about seven hundred and seventy-five miles; if by the upper Arkansas River, via Raton Pass, eight hundred and fifty miles. If the ultimate destination of the party was California, previous to 1841 they abandoned their wagons at Santa Fe and went on mule or horseback over the old Spanish trail, northwest to the Green River, thence over the Wasatch Mountains and down the Virgin River, entering the coast region at Tehachapi and Tejon Passes.

Beyond Santa Fe there were two routes used by the adventurers of '49 in their journey to California: a southern route, passing over the Sierra de los Membros Mountains to the headwaters of the Gila River, following the river to its junction with the Colorado, then crossing the desert and making the march northwards to San Francisco; the second and northern route was by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

Very few companies from Massachusetts tried the Gila route, but from April, 1848 to January, 1849, eight thousand gold seekers entered California by this trail, guided in some cases by officers of the United States Army. That this route had its share of hardship and suffering may be inferred from a letter a Boston gentleman wrote home under date of July 2, '49: "A man who has travelled the Gila route may throw himself on his knees and thank God for preserving him on it. The Gila route is unfit to be travelled and suffering inevitably awaits all who undertake it."

The South Pass of the Rocky Mountains is said to have been discovered by a party under General Ashley in 1823. The Pass was not difficult or narrow but many miles in breadth and the ascent gradual. It crossed the mountains at the height of eight thousand feet above sea level. In

1841 the first emigrant train arrived in California by the South Pass, following the Bear River to Salt Lake, thence westward over the desert to the Humboldt. The emigrant trail, known as the Greenwood cut-off, left the old trail at Fort Bridger, thence to Fort Hall, and was said to shorten the route fifty miles but was without water. Fort Bridger, Fort Hall, and several other so-called forts were merely small trading posts. This northern route had been traversed by Lewis and Clarke in their expedition and a little later the Oregon fever had sent some thousands across the country in their great wagons drawn by eight mules, differing from the California emigration in that women and children formed a considerable element in the Oregon parties.

The favorite overland route was by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains and probably nearly as many men entered California in '49 by this route as by all others combined. To the young, active, and vigorous the journey to California by the South Pass, under favorable conditions, was a delightful experience, though, as we shall see, it had its dark side. The start, which was usually made from Independence, Missouri, could not be begun until the grass on the plains was sufficiently grown to feed the oxen and mules used to drag the wagons. The typical wagon was a heavy affair, covered with canvas spread on hickory bows and drawn by ten or twelve oxen or mules. The men walked or rode by the side of the wagon. In some cases emigrants paid a fixed price for their passage from Independence to California, the price, including everything, being twelve hundred dollars per wagon. Each wagon was supposed to accommodate six men.

The time required to make the journey under favorable

circumstances was one hundred days and the distance covered two thousand miles. The journey was made in parties numbering ten to twenty wagons and whenever they stopped to detrain the last wagon kept on to the head of the line, starting first the next morning so as to reverse the line of march of the preceding day. Sometimes, and this was considered more economical, pack mules were substituted for wagons and the men walked or rode. As long as the journey was over the prairie and the grass plentiful the trip was not unpleasant, though even then there was plenty of hard work: there were rivers to be forded, ravines to be crossed, and frequently the wagons would have to be unloaded and loaded half a dozen times a day. Watch had to be kept at night as the Indians often prowled about the camp, murdering stragglers or attempting to run off the cattle.

Beyond Fort Kearney the journey became more and more difficult and the trail was plainly marked by abandoned wagons, dead cattle, jettisoned baggage, and too frequently by rude crosses marking the graves of the dead.

The start from Independence could not be made until the last of April or the first of May but by April 17, 1849, there were three thousand men camping near the town waiting for the grass to grow. Most of them lived in tents and the encampment had the appearance of a great fair. Peddlers shouted their wares, dance halls and drinking saloons abounded, while the crowd of gamblers which ever attends a frontier settlement relieved the unwary of their cash. This wait at Independence was one of the bad features of the South Pass route, for not only did men often lose the money they had provided for the trip, but they drank so hard and lived in such an unsanitary way that

dysentery and cholera were always prevalent and took heavy toll before departure.

By the middle of May the advance parties would have passed Fort Kearney and it was at this post that those companies who had started with all the impedimenta, which in their ignorance they thought necessary, began to unload and get rid of all but the real necessities of life. From Fort Kearney the trail led to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, seven thousand feet above the sea. Beyond the Pass was a region traversed by low mountains and between them stretches of alkali plains. Two routes were then open to the traveller: one, the old Oregon trail, by Bear River and Fort Hall, thence to the head of the Humboldt; the other via Salt Lake. Beyond Salt Lake the trails united and you could either take the old Spanish route over the Mohave Desert or cross Death Valley to the San Joaquin and thence to Sacramento.

There were six Massachusetts companies that went to California by the South Pass and all but one had an uneventful trip. One of the largest and best appointed companies was the Congress and California Mutual Protection Association. The party consisted of fifty young men, mostly from Roxbury, organized as a military body. Twelve of the company were officers of the Massachusetts Militia. The roster of the company was as follows:

Major John Webber of Boston	*President and Captain*
Major N. A. M. Dudley of Boston	*V. Pres. and 1st. Lieut.*
Col. Darling of Leominster	*Adjutant*
Otis Stevens of Roxbury	*Commissary*
Charles Pearson of Roxbury	*Quartermaster*
Doctor Robinson of Fitchburg	*Surgeon*
Capt. R. O. Nichols of Boston	*Treasurer*

Their uniforms were light grey, banded with gold, and they were armed with rifles, revolvers, bowie knives, and sabres. They took with them four musicians, two colored servants, and six dogs. The company left Boston March 19, 1849, to go through the South Pass, via Salt Lake. They reached Westfield, Missouri, May 11, and here the party differed as to the relative merit of wagons and mules, and fourteen of the company, choosing Thomas F. Dana as captain, went on with the wagons and the rest, under Captain Webber, with mules. On reaching Fort Kearney, June 3, Captain Dana's party abandoned their wagons and went on with pack mules. One of the members of the company writes home from Fort Kearney:

We committed the error of taking too much baggage. We have thrown away 500 pounds of bread and bacon and large quantities of flour and beans. Wagons we abandoned or sold for a song. We are cooking our dinner with fuel which was a brand new wagon when we left Boston. There is more clothing on the ground at Fort Kearney than would fill the largest store in Boston. It makes a man's heart sick to see the property scattered over the ground here. Wagons are left behind as fast as they are emptied of provisions. Each man now retains two suits of clothes and 175 pounds of provisions. When we start we shall make 30 miles a day, thus far since leaving Westfield we have averaged thirteen.

Captain Webber's party with thirty mules and four horses reached the South Pass July 4, after an exhausting and heartbreaking march. After a short rest, Captain Webber with a few of the company pushed ahead of the main body and made a forced march to Salt Lake, and camped awhile to recruit. They left Salt Lake with

thirteen pack mules and suffered incredible hardships on the march, losing all their mules but four and arrived at Sacramento in September, having spent six months on the journey. Major Webber did not remain long in California, and on his return spoke in rather uncomplimentary terms of the South Pass as a route to Sacramento. The writer has no information as to the fate of the rest of the party.

Another company to choose this route was the Sagamore and Sacramento of Lynn. This also was a military company, commanded by Francis Dixon, and comprised fifty-two young men. They left Lynn, March 29, 1849, to go via St. Louis and Independence. They are said to have made a fine show as they marched down State Street in their gray uniforms trimmed with silver braid, and a band of music at the head. Each man was armed with rifle, revolver, sabre, and sheath knife. Their wagons, of which they had one to every four men, all made to order, were drawn by four horses resplendent in silver-plated harnesses and from the rear of each wagon projected a swivel gun. On their arrival at New York they gave a a dress parade and their military appearance and the sight of Francis Dixon, seven feet tall, towering above the company, excited great enthusiasm and applause. May 20 they are reported on the plains three hundred miles from Independence in fine spirits and condition.

The Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association left Boston April 17 and reached Fort Kearney, via Independence, June 17. Except for the loss of one member, George Winslow, by cholera, they had a pleasant trip. After leaving Fort Laramie, with six wagons and fifty mules, driving

a herd of cattle before them, they entrained each morning at half-past four and went into camp at five P.M., so as to give the cattle time to graze. On one occasion they marched twenty miles without grass or water. They rested at Salt Lake nine days and reached Sacramento five months after leaving Independence. This company claimed to be the only one reaching Sacramento without breaking up or division of the party.

The Granite State and California Mining and Trading Company and the Mt. Washington Company joined forces and put themselves under the command of Captain Thing, an experienced plainsman formerly employed by the American Fur Company. Their route lay by the Platte River, the South Pass, and the Humboldt River. They used wagons and mules and drove before them a herd of cattle. On reaching the Humboldt they took what was called the Cherokee cut-off or Green Horn's cut-off, and lost three hundred miles by so doing. They arrived at Sacramento five months from Independence and six from Boston.

The Ophir Company left Boston April 9, 1849, under command of Benjamin B. Neale of Danvers, and all that is known of their march across the plains is contained in the following letter:

Fort Kearney, May 20, 1849.

We are in the Indian Territory, 300 miles from Independence. We passed the Ophir Company from Boston yesterday. They have had no sickness and their animals are in fine order. I have seen no company better equipped. The Sagamore Company from Lynn are a few miles behind and another Boston company is said to be in this vicinity. From Fort Leavenworth to Fort

Kearney we have not been out of sight of emigrant wagons for a single hour. The whole road is lined with them. The trail, which last year was but a wagon path, is now more than twice as wide as any road in the old Bay State. Graves, graves everywhere.

Of the overland routes, that by the South Pass was undoubtedly the best. By young men of good health and physique, under direction of some one who had knowledge of life on the plains, the journey could be made with comparative safety, but for a mixed company, too ignorant to know how ignorant they were, yet all anxious to advance quickly, the passage was difficult and dangerous.

Chapter III

THE ROUTE AROUND THE HORN

Come up, come in from Eastward, from the guard ports of the morn,
Beat up, beat in from Southerly, O! Gipsies of the Horn.

When the news of the discovery of gold in California reached New England and its importance was appreciated there were several factors which influenced men in their choice of a route. To those living inland and dreading a sea voyage the overland routes seemed more attractive and, as it was believed at the time, the shorter way of reaching California. There was also in every community a number of veterans of the late Mexican War, who knew something of life on the plains and believed that a regularly organized military company, going overland, had the best chance of reaching California in safety. To the young men of our New England seaport towns, however, there was but one way of reaching California, that around the Horn. For them the ocean had no terrors and the blood of generations of seagoing ancestors ran in their veins. Nor was it sentimental reasons alone which influenced their choice; in every seaport town were mariners who knew the passage around the Horn as they knew the streets of their own city. No one knew exactly what was necessary for an overland trip, but these men knew how many men a vessel would accommodate and what supplies it was necessary to lay in. The mothers might dread a sea voyage for they knew its dangers, but better the known peril than the unknown. They pictured a passage across

the plains as one long battle with hostile Indians or, if through Mexico, as exposed to attacks from men who still remembered Palo Alto and Molina del Rey and their lost Alta California. If their boys must go, the mothers thought, let it be by sea.

The first vessel to sail from Boston for California during the gold fever was the bark *J. W. Coffin*, Captain Martin. She cleared December 7, followed by the *Sattillo*, Captain Rich, and the *Carib*, Captain Webb. None of these vessels carried organized companies.

The first vessel to sail from Boston with a regularly organized company was the ship *Edward Everett*, carrying the Boston and California Joint Stock Mining and Trading Company. About the middle of December, 1848, a number of young men met in a room on Exchange Street, Boston, and organized a company for the Gold Coast, with Henry Smith of Boston as captain and president. They limited their number to one hundred and fifty and in a short time their ranks were full. The company was the best organized and most representative of any that left Massachusetts during the gold excitement. It consisted of one clergyman, four doctors, eight whaling captains, a mineralogist, a geologist, fifteen professional men, including medical and divinity students, a number of merchants, farmers, manufacturers, and seventy-six mechanics. The society headquarters was at the Hanover House and their by-laws and regulations such as I have already indicated. No one was to do any unnecessary work on the Lord's Day, with penalties for swearing and gambling.

From the first they had meant to go by sea and they were very fortunate in the choice of their vessel, the

Edward Everett, which they purchased from Benjamin Bangs of Boston. She was a staunch ship of seven hundred tons, built at Medford in 1843, and one of the few ships at that time equipped with lightning rods. Whether they were used on this trip the writer is ignorant, but Mr. Bangs had them put up in port or whenever a storm threatened. They were attached to the vessel's topmasts and carried down through the ship into the water.[1] She was provided with six boats, three of them surf boats. The whole of the between-decks was reserved for owners and passengers, there being three tiers of berths on both sides the ship from the sail room aft to the chain lockers forward. A room was reserved as a dispensary with an ample supply of drugs, and the doctors aboard constituted themselves a Board of Health. Twenty-five gallons of liquor were carried for medicinal purposes. The ship was provisioned for two years and carried a miscellaneous cargo consisting of bricks, wagons, spades, wheel-barrows, picks, four steam engines, a steamboat, and the frames of two houses, one of which was to be erected in San Francisco and called the Hanover House after the Boston hotel of that name where the company had their society meetings. The officers of the company were as follows:

Henry Smith.	*Pres. and Captain*
Timothy Rex.	*V. Pres.*
William Farwell.	*Sec'y*
William V. Wells.	*1st Mate*
Thomas Bryant.	*2nd Mate*
L. D. Pike.	*3rd Mate*
T. J. Mann.	*4th Mate*

[1] She also carried two cannons to repel pirates!—*Diary of Mahlon D. Spalding.*

Enoch Jacobs of Springfield, John E. Dix, E. P. Abbe, Lucius Flagg, and William A. Egery of Boston, Abiel Carter, and C. Whipple of Concord, New Hampshire, all directors. The crew consisted of twenty able seamen who worked their passage, ten of whom had previously served as mates on other vessels.

Previous to their departure Mr. John Mears of Dorchester presented to the company collectively a superbly bound Bible with the inscription,

> To the President, Directors, and Company of the Boston and California Mining Company I present this treatise on money and the search for hidden treasure. Accept it! Try it! Peruse its contents and may the blessing of Almighty God, its author, attend your efforts to obtain desirable riches.

Among the adventurers going out on the *Edward Everett* was William H. Thomes, at one time connected with the Boston *Herald* and a well-known writer, and the following is taken from his account of the voyage:

> The Rev. Mr. Kirk of the Ashburton Place Orthodox Church delivered one Sunday evening a special discourse before the Company or such as chose to attend. He said we were going to a far country where all were in ignorance and sin and we should take our Bibles in one hand and our good N. England civilization in the other and conquer all the wickedness that stood in our path. We promised to follow his advice. Mr. Abbe, who then resided on Boylston St. and whose two sons were members of the Company, gave to each of us a Bible. He told us when the good books were presented that we were going to a strange, immoral country and that we must take our Bibles in one hand and our N. England civilization in the other and implant our principles on the soil. The Hon. Edward Everett, then Presi-

dent of Harvard College, made us a present of 100 volumes as a library and in his letter conveying the gift said, "You are going to a strange country. Take the Bible in one hand and your New England civilization in the other and make your mark on the people and country." The reader will hardly believe it but it is nevertheless true that only a few remembered the excellent advice of the good men, while some of our most promising students of divinity swore like pirates when they lost at monte and had hard luck at the mines; while one day at Sacramento I saw on the counter of a grogshop one of the Bibles which had been presented to us with so much thoughtful care for the welfare of our souls. One of our civilizers had sold his holy book for a drink.

The *Edward Everett* cleared for California January 9 and sailed January 13, 1849, in company with the brig *Forest* and the bark *Maria*. The first two weeks the sea was rough and many of the company were sick. Then for fifteen days they were becalmed. This, though annoying, put the company on their feet and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. They organized a band and laid out streets between decks as a reminder of home. One was Ann Street, on the starboard side abaft the mainmast. This was occupied by a lively crowd who played on their fiddles and banjos, sang "Susannah! Don't You Cry" and other going songs, danced and were always ready for any harmless amusement. To keep themselves in order they had a police force and watch-house. Then there was Riggers Row, Beacon Street, Dock Square, and the North End.

They published a paper on the *Edward Everett* every Saturday afternoon. The name of the paper was the *Barometer*, and the editors were William H. Thomes,

John W. Homer, William V. Wells, Willard S. Farwell, and George H. Campbell, the latter at one time reporter on the *Times*. The paper was a diary of all the little events on shipboard, the position, southing and speed of the vessel, and also contained any original prose or poetical matter the more intellectual might offer. One of the company composed a poem addressed to the ship *Edward Everett*, of which we quote one verse:

> Ark of our repose, aider of our plans,
> Bound straight for California's golden strands,
> From Massachusetts' shore,
> Thou'st proudly borne us onward in our course,
> To where the papers show to be the source
> Of glittering, precious ore.

At 11 A.M. Sunday the bell rang for church and either the Rev. Mr. Bradley or the Rev. Mr. Benton, sometimes both, delivered a sermon or gave a talk on religious matters. The meeting was very informal, most of the men smoked and many slept, but the attendance was usually good. Once a week they had a lecture from some one of the scientific men aboard, and occasionally a mock trial served to relieve the monotony. When the weather permitted, fishing for ship-jacks, porpoise, dolphins, and sharks was always in order and the cry "School of fish about us" was sufficient to cause a stampede from any meeting, religious or otherwise. It was not all fun on the *Edward Everett*; May 11, Mr. Spalding says in his diary, "All hands at work, some making boats, some blacksmithing, and some picking oakum. Every one is getting discontented and tired of life on the ocean wave."

They lived well on the *Edward Everett*, the company

being divided into fifteen messes, ten in each, one serving alternately as captain. The duty of the captain was to look after the food, procure it from the galley, and be responsible for its serving. Their food was brought to them in a kit and they sat down on the deck and ate it right out of the tub. They had dandy funk, made of hard bread boiled with molasses, raisins, and cinnamon; apple grunt, made by stewing dried apples and dough balls; lobscouse, made by hashing and heating meat and bread; plum duff; and mackerel, salt fish, beef, pork, ham, and flour biscuit with butter twice a week. A barrel of hardtack stood where each one could help himself. If the committee on provisions did not give them what they liked it was the custom to chase them around the deck until they promised plum duff at the next meal. On holidays they drew from a small store of luxuries and added to the usual meal, apple sauce, cheese, potpie, and plum pudding. Whenever there was a good, smart rain they caught the fresh water in a tarpaulin and had a washing day. Garments would be strung from the end of the bowsprit to the spanker boom and the ship would give the appearance of a clipper rigged out with all kinds of fancy sails.

Captain Smith was fond of a joke and just before rounding Cape Horn he suggested that a company be formed to go ashore on Patagonia, travel across the country to Valparaiso and wait there for the ship. Twenty of the company took the bait. Then the captain gravely told them that the country was uninhabited, had never been explored, and they must expect to encounter cannibals and all sorts of wild beasts. This made them look sober but

they did not withdraw. "Then," said the captain, "if you are determined to go, it is necessary that you drill every day in order that you may be ready to encounter the unknown but certain dangers that await you on the trip; now I have a sailor aboard who was formerly in the United States Army and I will send him to drill you." Presently a sailor, dressed in an old uniform with a sword by his side, came up from the steerage and drilled them for an hour before they saw the joke.

The *Edward Everett* passed through the Straits of Le-Maire March 29, and doubled Cape Horn April 5 in a gale and many of the company who had remained in their berths during the bitter cold and stormy passage around the Cape now came on deck and began to prepare for the anticipated visit to Valparaiso. Up to this time the health of the company had been perfect and no unpleasant incident had occurred to mar the harmony of the voyage. It now became the unpleasant duty of the company to try a man for stealing. A court trial was given him and he was expelled by a three-quarters vote of the stockholders, forfeiting his share of stock and the three hundred dollars he had put in.

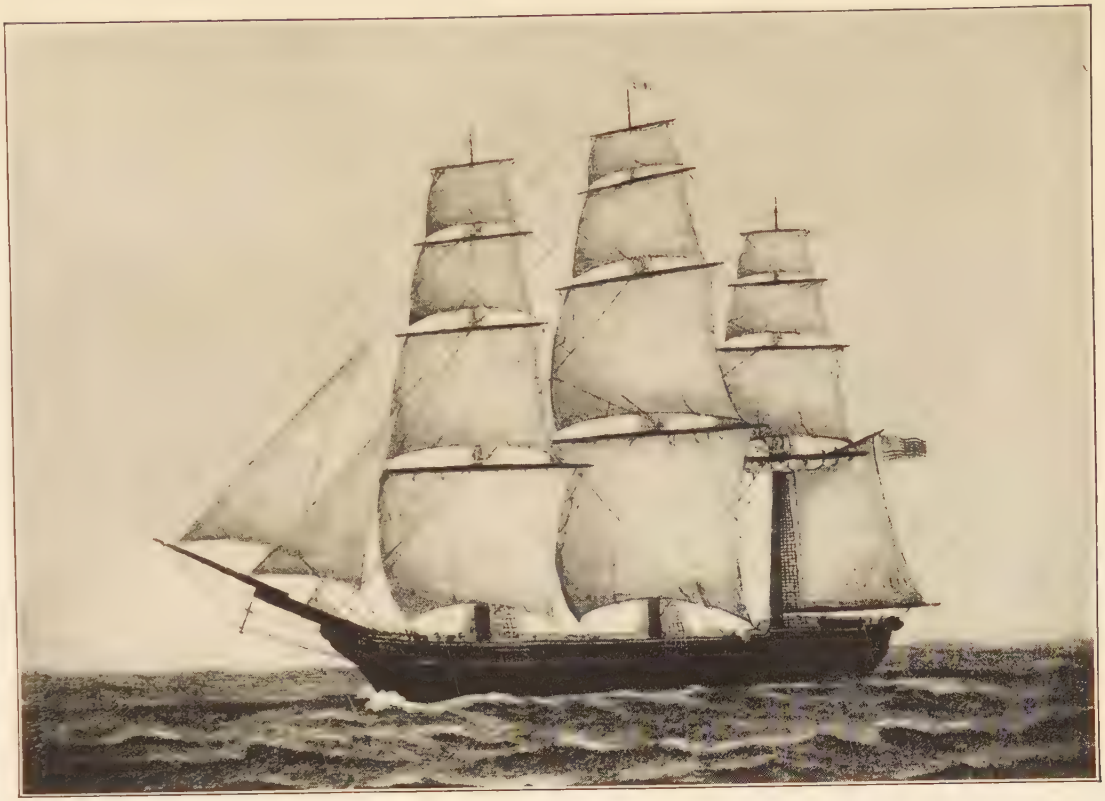
The *Edward Everett* reached Valparaiso April 29 and spent four days there taking in provisions and water. The company drew lots to see who should go ashore first and drafted fifteen men to stay aboard each day while in port. After their long sea voyage Valparaiso seemed a bit of heaven to the adventurers and they galloped donkeys through the narrow streets, attended cockfights, saw one or two bulls killed in the ring, and brought back to the ship loads of tropical fruits.

After leaving Valparaiso the trade wind bore them swiftly along the coast and one of the company writes home: "On shipboard, June 30. Dr. Butler, the cook, was down in the saloon this morning, marching fore and aft, giving loud calls for us to rise up and see the *Edward Everett* sail. 'Rise up, rise up, rise up,' he was calling, 'fair wind, gentlemen, she's a-goin' nine knots and can go more, rise up, gentlemen, I declare she is goin' beautiful.' Accordingly we rose. Had a sermon today from Mr. Benton, attendance large." Like all the company vessels the *Edward Everett* celebrated the Fourth of July, and Wells, Price, Otherman, Griswold, and W. B. Farwell were the committee of arrangements. J. L. Bates was chosen president of the day and an orchestra of four violins, an octave flute, three other flutes, and several guitars furnished music at intervals during the celebration. The program was as follows:

1. Music.
2. Reading the Declaration of Independence, J. W. Horner.
3. Star Spangled Banner.
4. Poem, J. A. Benton.
5. Music, Land of our Fathers.
6. Oration, L. R. Lutt.
7. Yankee Doodle.

At noon they lunched on doughnuts and pineapple cheese. The dinner consisted of three courses: first, hot biscuit and butter, beef, pork, and apple sauce; second, gingerbread and "fixins"; third, plum cake, tarts, and fruit. In the evening they had fireworks[1] and a dance. Two days

[1] Presented by Mr. Hovey, the pyrotechnist of Boston. — Boston *Transcript*, September 15, 1849.



SHIP *EDWARD EVERETT*

after, July 6, at four o'clock they passed through the Golden Gate and entered the harbor of San Francisco. "Farewell to ocean storms and ocean calms, welcome! long-sought Alta California."

The harbor of San Francisco was crowded and the next day the *Edward Everett* moved over to the new port of Benecia where she was moored to a mud bank and left in charge of Captain Thomes. The company had been advised to begin mining at Mokalumne Hill and soon after their arrival at Sacramento they took up their march for the gold fields. They had three six-mule teams for the baggage, and the men, armed with rifles and revolvers, marched by their side. After crossing the American River the heat became so oppressive that the guns were piled on the wagons and many of the party, faint and footsore, had to be carried also. With that ignorance characteristic of new arrivals in California they did not fill their canteens at the river and as the day wore on some became delirious from thirst. When at sundown they reached the river they were too exhausted to pitch tents and after drinking immoderately sank down on the ground to sleep the sleep of utter prostration. Some never recovered from this march. They finally reached the mines and began work, but the results were not favorable. Some were lazy, some sick, and it was voted to disband.

On August 24, William V. Wells, afterwards mayor of San Francisco, who had been appointed captain of the little steamer brought out from Boston by the company, writes from Benecia:

I have only a few minutes to tell you we are alive and well. The Company has dissolved. The votes of a majority in the

mines did it. Being among those engaged in transporting provisions up by boat I did not hear of it until now. I am at present bound up to join L— at the mines. We are to operate together while the mining season lasts. The dividend will amount to about $175 per man. The company dissolved after about two days' digging. One-half of them would not work. I made one trip up to Sacramento as Captain of the *Pioneer*, the first steamer to run on the river. We have sold her to Simmons and Hutchinson for $6000. The ship will not fetch more than $15,000; I can go Captain of her for $300 a month if I wish.

After the vote to disband, the members of the company dispersed. Some raised the money and went home. Some remained in San Francisco or Sacramento. A large number tried mining on the Feather River and were fairly successful but the cost of living ate up all the profits. Then chills and fever broke out and confined half the party to the camp and this ended the second attempt to mine in a body. The *Edward Everett* was finally sold for eleven thousand dollars. Captain Thomes remained on the vessel until she was sold and finally returned to Boston. The chaplain of the *Edward Everett*, the Rev. Mr. Benton, preached a farewell sermon to the company August 5, and then took charge of a church in Sacramento. He ends a letter home announcing the dissolution of the company:

With a body frail and feeble but a soul full of hope and courage,

Yours sincerely,

J. A. Benton.

Although the fate of the Boston and California Company seems tragic, yet on the whole they fared better than many of the companies which followed them. The voyage

out was unattended by any misfortunes and they reached California in perfect health at a small expense. That the social part was a failure and that the company should break up was inevitable. Up to the time they arrived at the Gold Coast the plan worked perfectly, but the idea that one hundred and fifty men, soft from their long voyage, the strong and the weak, the sick and the healthy, could work at the hardest manual labor, exposed to the worst climatic conditions, without disaster both to themselves and the company was not to be expected. They certainly had no luck at the mines although a common sailor from the *Edward Everett*, working less than two miles from them, took out in a few days from a placer a few yards square more than ten thousand dollars worth of gold dust.

The second large company to start from Boston was the New England Mining and Trading Company. It consisted of well-known men from Boston and vicinity and they were very fortunate in the vessel chosen to take them round the Horn. The *Leonore* which they bought for thirty thousand dollars was a staunch vessel and a fast sailer, her passage out being made in one hundred and forty-nine days, the record for company vessels at the time of her arrival. She was commanded by Captain H. H. Green, who also served as president of the company. The morning of February 1, 1849, the company, one hundred strong, assembled at the wharf and by noon the personal baggage was stowed away, farewells made, all aboard called, and the *Leonore* started on her voyage. In the confusion of sailing no one had noticed that two of their num-

ber were absent but by the time they had passed Boston Light it was discovered that Dr. Fish and Parker H. Peirce, well-known members of the party, were not aboard. It was learned afterwards that they reached the wharf an hour after the ship started.

A letter from one of the company, off the coast of Brazil, gives some account of the voyage. " We have concluded to put into St. Catherine's before going round the Horn. We left Boston on Sunday and had good runs for four days and then constant gales. The greater part of the men were sick. We have all sorts of amusements aboard which make the time pass quickly. We have formed a company of Sacramento Minstrels, banjo, tambourine, and fiddle and we sing all the popular songs. We have a dance nearly every night until eight bells, when all noise on deck is forbidden; then we have fun below, songs, stories and games. We have had no trouble aboard and doubt whether there is another company of a hundred men as happy as we. Our ship is No. 1. Our captain is a seaman and gentleman, the officers are first rate and the director's mess room one of the places you read of. We celebrated the 4th of March by the firing of guns and a fine dinner. Fancy dress ball in the evening. Crossed the line May 19th."

After doubling the Cape the *Leonore* put into the port of Talcahuana, Chili, for water and provisions and the young man writes again from that city: " We landed at Talcahuana, the port of Concepcion, and here I am and it is a great country. There are about a thousand Americans here and such a time. About a hundred of us ride round on donkeys and go to bullfights, cockfights, and fandangos. You bet the girls are good looking. We have

bought a lot of the wine of the country for twenty-five cents a gallon and the best cordials for fifty cents a gallon. You bet we live high."

The voyage from Talcahuana to San Francisco was uneventful, everything aboard was harmonious and the *Leonore* entered the Golden Gate on the morning of July 5, just one day late for the national celebration. The day after the arrival of the *Leonore* Mr. Charles Plummer, a member of the company, writes home concerning the voyage, " We encountered all sorts of weather but carried away nothing more than a studding sail boom. The *Leonore* is the best and dryest seaboat ever, and the fastest sailer you ever saw. We overtook and passed every vessel that we sighted and at Talcahuana, where we stopped for provisions, we found nine New York ships, every one of which we had beaten ten or twelve days. We also beat the brig *Charlotte* from Newburyport and the *Mary Wilder* and *Oxford* from Boston. We came to anchor here yesterday at nine A.M. and find a large fleet of vessels here from all parts of the world, but no American vessel has beaten us except the Philadelphia clippers, *Grey Eagle* and *Greyhound*.[1] The *Edward Everett* has not arrived yet nor any other vessel which sailed from Boston in January except the brig *Josephine*, the bark *Maria*, and the pilot boat *Anonyma*, and these last we have beat in sailing time. Our log shows a sailing distance of seven thousand five hundred and eighty-six miles and is said to be a very short passage yet we have had but very few free winds. We

[1] The clipper *Greyhound*, Captain Claypool, made the run from Baltimore in one hundred and twelve days, the *Grey Eagle* from Philadelphia in one hundred and thirty-nine days.

start tomorrow for Benecia where we shall leave the steamer to be set up. We expect to make a lot of money through her."

The company on the *Leonore* were fortunate in arriving at California at a time when a mixed cargo such as the ship carried was in demand. Their idea of possible profits, however, was too great and an offer of thirty thousand dollars for the steamer which they brought out at a cost of seventeen hundred dollars did not appeal to them. "Had we sold all our cargo when we arrived in California," writes one of their number, "we should have divided one thousand dollars a man. But we waited too long and now we have been here two weeks and if we should sell everything now we should divide about three hundred dollars a man." Besides the steamboat, which they finally sold at a good profit, and a mixed cargo of tools, hardware, and supplies, they took out eighty-three muskets, a case of swords and a salamander safe, the latter not for sale but to be used as a receptacle for the gold dust they expected to send in from the mines. Whatever use they made of the safe it was not destined to hold any gold dust mined by the *Leonore's* company, as the following letter shows. "I have been to the mines, have seen the elephant and had hold of his tail; he is a hard old gentleman. We started July 14, forty in number, and went up the river in boats, one hundred and twenty-nine miles, to the city of Vernon. There we fitted out our teams and twenty more of the company having joined us went overland fifty miles, leaving our sick behind us. We arrived at the river August 5, with the thermometer one hundred and twenty in the shade. Ten miles a day was the best we could do.

We found plenty of gold but hard work to get it. One after another of us was taken sick with chills and fever or dysentery and as there were only enough well to take care of the sick we had to stop work for two weeks. Getting discouraged we started back for the ship and broke up."

One of the seventy who went to the mines wrote home: "I have found work worse than I anticipated and I have worked long enough to know that a large company cannot succeed. We have dissolved our glorious company and are going on our own hook." Two of the company were left on the *Leonore* and allowed to take boarders on condition that any of the members might return if sick. The *Leonore* seems to have remained at Benecia some time as the company built a small church there. In 1850 the *Leonore* was a storeship in the harbor of San Francisco.

Besides the two companies described two other companies sailed from Boston on or before February 1: the Massachusetts and California Mining and Trading Company on the brig *Mary Wilder* and the Plymouth and California Mining Association on the brig *Attila*. After February 1, the sailing of company vessels from Boston became so frequent and the information about them so restricted in character that the writer will simply pick out the more interesting voyages and tell their stories so far as he knows them.

The ship *Sweden*, Captain Cutting, sailed from Boston March 2, 1849, carrying the Mt. Washington Mining and Trading Company, the Roxbury Sagamore Company, and a company of twenty-five from Cambridge. Previous to the departure of the *Sweden* a very interesting meeting was

held at the Seamen's Bethel, North Square, the Sunday before sailing. Father Taylor's church was crowded. The sermon lasted an hour, the text being "Trust thou in God." After the sermon a hymn was sung and then Dr. Peirce of Brookline presented to James L. Warren, who went as commander of the expedition, a banner of white satin fringed with gold. The banner had the inscription, "Excelsior," and was richly emblazoned on one side with the picture of the ship *Sweden* in the distance and miners from the ship ascending a hill. On the opposite was printed "Ship *Sweden*, 1849." "Take this banner," said Dr. Peirce, "with the noble inscription it bears. Unfurl it as you leave your native shore and bear it over the broad ocean as a passport to a distant land. Let it be to you a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night."

Following the presentation of the banner, Father Taylor, in the name of the owners of the *Sweden*, presented Mr. Warren with a Bible bearing the inscription, "Ship *Sweden's* Mining Companies." "In order to protect the banner," said Father Taylor, "it is necessary to have a weapon, and I present the Word of God as such, both a sword and shield." Four more Bibles were then presented, one to Captain Cutting for the cabin, one for the forward cabin, and two for the staterooms between decks. After these ceremonies, Henry Plymton, principal owner of the *Sweden*, gave a sketch of the proposed expedition and a history of the vessel. The *Sweden* was one of the largest company vessels sailing to San Francisco in 1849. She registered six hundred and fifty tons and cost thirty thousand dollars. Her passenger list numbered two hundred and twelve and no expense was spared to make the ship a

pleasant home for the company. She sailed on a typical March day and crossed the line March 31. May 2 she spoke the ship *Magnolia*, Captain Simmons, with a company on board from New Bedford. A race followed and the *Sweden* held her own until the mainsail split. After repairing damages the *Sweden* gained and finally passed the *Magnolia* amid cheers from both ships. May 13 they sighted Staten Island, the first land they had seen since leaving Boston, and for nearly a week were detained by head winds. May 22 they rounded Cape Horn in a severe gale, during which a number of the passengers were thrown against the bulwarks and severely wounded. The *Sweden* made the passage out in one hundred and fifty days.

There were two companies sailing from Boston for California having the same name — the Bunker Hill Mining and Trading Company — one on the brig *Pauline* and one on the ship *Regulus*. The name seemed rather appropriate for the company on the *Pauline*, for its members came from Charlestown and Somerville, but why the party on the *Regulus* chose the name is not clear as most of the company came from the Cape or inland. The Bunker Hill Company on the *Pauline* bought her for four thousand dollars, fitted her up and provisioned her for eighteen months. They were mostly mechanics but not without means as their capital stock of fifteen thousand dollars was all paid in. Their by-laws were very strict and they pledged themselves "To abstain from all the vices and temptations incident to the expedition." It is to be hoped rather than expected that they kept their pledge. They sailed from Boston January 13, and had a long and unfortunate pas-

sage. For forty days they were within a short distance of Cape Horn, losing one man washed overboard, and reached San Francisco September 3, two hundred and forty days after leaving the home port.

The company on the *Regulus* also had a long voyage, two hundred and one days, but all that is known of their trip is an extract from a short letter written home from Rio. "I am delighted with the city. It resembles New England. Hill upon hill dotted with villas. The inhabitants are quite polite to us. There is a splendid public plaza with fountains and flowers. No teams in the streets which are narrow. We buy sugar cane and oranges, one thousand of the latter for a dollar. There are twelve hundred Americans in port."

Most of the companies sailing for California were obliged to purchase cheap and therefore old vessels and they were fitted up and provisioned with a view to economy, but the North Western Company was an exception. Twenty-two wealthy and aristocratic young men from Boston and vicinity, of whom Charles Francis Adams, Jr., was the most prominent, bought the so-called clipper *Orb* from parties in Salem and fitted her up with every luxury and convenience. The shares were a thousand dollars each. The *Orb*, Captain F. W. Moores, sailed from Boston March 1, and made a leisurely passage to San Francisco of one hundred and ninety-two days.[1]

[1] The bark *Orb* put into Rio for water and repairs, forty-six days from Nantasket Roads. She had encountered severe weather and had her bulwarks stove and the planking about the quarterdeck strained so that water ran into the staterooms. Although called a clipper, she made a slow voyage to Rio on account of errors in stowing her cargo. They sold part of the cargo at

Although few vessels could afford a larder such as the *Orb* is reported to have furnished, most of the ships carrying adventurers did provide coarse but plentiful food, which, to appetites sharpened by sea air, was not unpalatable. On the ship *Capitol*, carrying the Naumkeag Company of Salem, however, there seems to have been reason for complaint. The *Capitol*, a ship of six hundred and eighty-seven tons, owned by Sampson and Tappan of Boston, was advertised to provide better food and better quarters than most of the vessels sailing for California. The ship was supplied with Emerson's patent ventilators and much stress was laid on the promise that every passenger should be given a berth. The Naumkeag Company took passage in the *Capitol* and expected excellent fare and good sleeping quarters. Previous to their departure they attended the Tabernacle Church and listened to a sermon from the Rev. Dr. Worcester, the text being "Where there is gold and the gold of that land is good." Dr. Worcester began his sermon: "The first mention of gold in the Bible is in connection with the garden of Eden. The last is found in the description of the glorious city of God, the New Jerusalem. 'Pure gold like unto clear glass.'"

The *Capitol* sailed from Lewis's wharf, Boston, January 23, under command of Captain Thorndike Proctor, with a manifest thirteen feet long having four hundred and fifty-five articles of entry. She carried two hundred and forty-eight passengers and before she had been long at sea they were clamoring for more and better food. The cap-

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Rio and lightened the vessel seven inches. The North Western Company made no attempt to mine but on reaching Sacramento turned the *Orb* into a store ship and went into what was called the "grab" game.

tain tried to pacify them by stating that he gave them what the owners had ordered, but this only incensed them the more and some of the bolder threatened to mutiny and seize the ship. At a meeting held in the cabin March 1, resolutions were passed, one article of which reads, "Resolved: that we are men subjected to feelings of submission and content and if we are furnished with the United States Navy rations (except ardent spirits), we are satisfied and on no other condition shall the power of two hundred voices be hushed." There was also complaint because there were not spoons and forks enough to go round. Finally their rations were increased and somewhat varied and the excitement died down.

The *Capitol* stopped eight days at Rio for provisions and water. There were at this time two thousand Americans in the city, visitors from the various ships in the harbor, and, as the Mayor had ordered no arrests except for crime, they certainly enjoyed themselves. For those so inclined there were cockfights and horse races to watch, gambling houses and dance halls to visit and cheap aguardiente, two drinks of which sufficed to paralyze the unwary: while the more discreet found plenty of amusement in wandering about the streets, seeing strange sights and customs, listening to the band in the plaza, and drinking fruit syrups.

The *Capitol* stopped four days at Valparaiso and just as she was about to sail a boat from H. B. M. Ship *Asia* came alongside and demanded that they be allowed to search the ship for deserters. After some discussion the captain allowed search to be made and two men were found secreted in the hold and carried back to the *Asia*. One man, however, a gunner's mate, was so shrewdly concealed as to

escape detection. One of the passengers on the *Capitol* had him lie down in his berth with a mattress on top of him and then placed himself on the mattress and was quietly reading when the officer passed by. Soon after leaving Valparaiso the *Capitol* encountered a terrible storm during which the *Golden Age*, a small steamboat belonging to the Salem company, was washed overboard. The storm did not last long and as the ship glided over the calm waters of the Pacific her deck presented much the appearance of a small manufacturing village: there was a harness and belt shop, a book bindery, a pistol and knife factory, a shoe-shop, a carpenter shop, and a laundry, all doing a brisk business.

The officers and passengers on the *Capitol* did not pull well together and on one occasion the captain threatened to put a gentleman in irons who had spoken disrespectfully to the mate. The man drew a pistol and dared the captain to carry out his threat: the captain also drew his pistol but the affair ended in mere words. This ill feeling, dating back to the quarrel over the rations served, led to the writing of a song or parody which was quite popular on the ship. The passengers made their ablutions on deck every morning and during the early part of the voyage the sailors drew the water for them. After relations were strained, a leather bucket was provided and each man had to draw his water from the sea. One morning some one set the bucket adrift and the next day they were singing this song on the *Capitol*.

The Old Leather Bucket

How queer to each heart, are the scenes of our manhood,
Especially those of the old liquid blue,
The cabin, the galley, the coal and the fire wood,
And every old tin pot which scarce e'er was new.

The wide-spreading sail, when you ever could spy it,
The deck and the casks, e'en the ship's monkey rail,
The bunks of the sailors, the forecastle nigh it,
And e'en the rude bucket that filled up each pail.

The old leather bucket,
The recent lost bucket,
The slab sided bucket,
Which lay on the rail.

The old leather bucket we hailed as a treasure,
For always at morn when arousing from sleep,
It gave us the feeling of joy and of pleasure,
As down it descended far into the deep.

How anxious we'd seize it, then overboard throwing,
'Twould fill with the water, while on we would sail,
Then quickly while swelling, the brim overflowing,
With pride we would draw it forth e'en to the rail.

How eager each mortal did stand to receive it,
As poised on the rail they their basins did dip,
Not the bell for their breakfast could tempt them to leave it,
'Twas filled with the water old Neptune did sip.

But now lost and gone from that lone situation,
The voice of regret speaks the *Capitol* tale,
And fancy doth figure the moist apparition,
Which but recently lay on the ship's monkey rail.

The passengers on the *Capitol* of course celebrated the Fourth of July, with Mr. Temple Tebbets as president of the day. The order of exercises was as follows:

1. Prayer by Mr. Becket.
2. Original song by B. E. Whittemore.
3. Reading of the Declaration by B. E. Whittemore.
4. Address by J. S. Wallis of Salem.
5. Song, Our Fathers.

At the dinner in the evening the following toasts were offered:

1. Our Revolutionary Fathers. — The Champions and Defenders of Liberty — may their memory be held in grateful remembrance.
2. The Daughters of America. — When they cease to exert their influence, our Republican Institutions must fail.
3. The U. S. of America. — The Model of the World — may the foul stain of slavery be ere long obliterated.
4. Gen. Taylor. — The Hero of Buena Vista and Monterey.
5. The Cradle of Liberty, Boston. — For 73 years has it rocked but it is still able to put the Sons of Tyranny to sleep.

The last toast was to the passengers on the ship *Capitol*. "United in one arduous undertaking — may prosperity crown their many efforts on the golden shores of the Sacramento and, at an early day, be returned to their homes among a prosperous and happy New England people, richly laden with the wealth of the modern El Dorado."

The assurance of the owners of the *Capitol* that each passenger should have a berth to himself seems to have been somewhat fallacious as one company of young men

is said to have occupied the pig pen, after the pigs had been removed. There was aboard the *Capitol* a company of eleven young men who styled themselves, " Family of Hogans." From the name adopted it is possible they were the ones who lived in the pig pen. The *Capitol* reached San Francisco, July 19, 1849, and the crew promptly deserted the ship, the captain became insane and committed suicide and the mate, faithful to his trust, remained alone on the vessel. It is stated that twelve of the passengers on the *Capitol* were dead by November 12, 1849.

The Bay State and California Mining and Trading Company sailed from Boston, January 26, 1849, on the brig *Almena*, John Lincoln, master. Each member of the company paid six hundred dollars which entitled him to a passage to California and back and life insurance to the amount of a thousand dollars. The company consisted of twenty-nine gentlemen from Boston and vicinity and they had an uneventful voyage out of one hundred and seventy-six days. They made one stop, for fresh food and water, at Valparaiso. One of the company writes: " We entered the harbor of Valparaiso passing by the old adobe fort mounting only three guns, opposite which the *Essex* and the *Phoebe* had their famous fight, and came in sight of the city, the Garden of Paradise. Valparaiso has splendid streets, laid out as wide as Washington Street in Boston, but very filthy. There are lots of Yankees here, roaming about the city, patronizing the fruit venders and makers of sweetmeats. In the evening we visited fore, mizzen, and main top, the three dance halls on the top of three hills. On Ascension Day the shops were all closed and there was

a procession of priests, military, and civilians, with a band at the head. The soldiers were dressed in white duck and barefoot, but the officers were fine. The ladies here are very handsome with their black hair and eyes and all wear silk stockings. The mounted police are a great nuisance at night, keeping us awake with their shrill whistles and cries of "Todosbuano," all is well. The people are very kind and obliging, but will steal if they get the chance."

After remaining some days in San Francisco the *Almena* took on twenty-one deck passengers at fifteen dollars each and two cabin at twenty-five dollars and proceeded up the river to Sacramento. The company from the first had determined to stick together and not depend entirely on mining. On their arrival at Sacramento they unloaded the *Almena* and after five days bought a lot in the city, twenty feet by eighty, for fifteen hundred dollars. They had brought out from Boston the framework of a house and this they now carried from the brig to the lot on their shoulders and put up a two-story building to be used as a store. It was the only store in the city painted on the outside. When the store was completed a part of the company started for the mines with a wagon and six mules, costing nine hundred and fifty dollars. A steam engine and sawmill which they had brought out was set up forty miles away in the country. Those remaining now dug a well twenty-one feet deep and got good water. There were few wells in Sacramento at this time and several hundred people came each day to drink the pure water. One of the company writes, "I have just been out to see Sutter's Fort; it is in a dilapidated condition and is now used as a storehouse and a place of departure for miners. It is the last

place for a drink on the road to the mines. I do not regret coming, I was tired of Boston and clerking; now I can eat anything, am not afraid of dirt, get up early, and Sunday, wash up, put on a clean shirt and pants with only one patch on them." The store had out the sign "Variety Store" and sold hardware, miner's supplies, provisions, and fancy goods. One of the company had brought out a number of gold and silver watches, bought at Bigelow and Kennard's, and the gold ones sold at a good profit but no one wanted the silver. Sales at first were encouraging but business grew dull and the young gentleman mentioned writes again: "Many men come to my store to weigh their gold dust on returning from the mines and I ask each if they are contented and have done well. Some say that as long as they are well and have a little money they are satisfied, but not more than five men out of companies of fifty to one hundred, have kept their health and been fortunate. Our company will close up January 1, 1850. One-third of the members have been sick ever since they came out and gold digging has not amounted to much. I do not regret it. I am tired of restraint and at any rate I have learned economy here." The Bay State and California Company was one of the few companies which tried coöperation thoroughly and were loyal to each other. When the rainy season came on they, or part of them, were still in Sacramento and the store was still running. The same gentleman from whom we have quoted writes again, "I had chills and fever so I took a vacation and went to Weaver's Camp, the famous gold diggings, and lived on deer meat and open air. I worked two days on an abandoned claim and picked up a few small nuggets to carry

home. At the end of two weeks I was strong and hearty and walked home. The whole country is now a mud bank or under water. Our store is on the highest land in the city and set up two feet on posts and there is nine inches of water on the lower floor. Sacramento has about nine feet of water in the streets and people go about in boats. We still have plenty of provisions from the ship and don't care whether school keeps. We have sold flour from the *Almena*, hard as granite and bad smelling, for forty dollars a barrel. The shoes I bought at Faxon's for three dollars and twenty-five cents and wore all the passage out I sold for fourteen dollars. The brig has gone on a voyage to Oregon. I wonder that I was ever discontented in Boston but am the better for coming. This is a horrid country."

There were several vessels sailing from Boston about January 1, 1849, which did not carry organized companies, but merely passengers and freight. One of them, the pilot schooner *Anonyma*, Captain Treadwell, became intimately connected with the early history of San Francisco. The *Anonyma* was intended to run on the Sacramento, but on her arrival at San Francisco, after a fast voyage, going via Magellan, she was found to draw too much water and was used as a pilot boat in the harbor of San Francisco. The first vessel to require her services was the *Leonore* and Captain Treadwell writes home: " I charged the *Leonore* ten dollars a foot and some think I left my conscience in the Straits of Magellan, but I am paying my bookkeeper three hundred dollars, the crew one hundred and seventy-five dollars, and the steward one hundred and eighty dollars a month and have besides the cost of running the

boat." Somewhat later, business being poor, the *Anonyma* went on a voyage to the Sandwich Islands beating everything going her way. The bark *Oxford* sailed from Boston and made her first stop at Rio. There were only eight vessels there and about five hundred Americans, but the inhabitants at first thought they had come to start a revolution and were much alarmed. Some of the passengers hired an omnibus, brought out by an American, harnessed six mules to it and drove out to the botanical gardens on a road bordered by orange, lemon, and coffee groves and spent the day wandering over the two hundred acres where every variety of tropical trees, flowers, and birds afforded a charming picture. The *Oxford* left Rio March 5 and after a slow passage put into Talcahuana May 14. One of the passengers writes: "Talcahuana is a small place, about two hundred houses. One church, the custom house, and a few stores. We left there May 17 and arrived here at San Diego, one hundred and ninety-seven days from Boston. We found here three of an overland party from Boston who had left the company and were working as carpenters at five dollars a day and board."

The Suffolk and California Mutual Mining Company sailed from Boston May 2 on the ship *New Jersey*, Captain Day. The ship took an easterly course until near the Cape Verde Islands and then steered southwest; encountered a heavy gale in the gulf stream and had head winds all the way to Cape Horn; was twenty days off the Falkland Islands and the passengers suffered terribly from the cold; finally got around the Cape and stopped at Callao on the run up the coast. The passengers were so anxious to get

ashore after their hard voyage that some of them sold part of their clothing to get money for a shore excursion. Lima was only seven miles from Callao and all who could visited the silver city and wandered through the cathedral and churches, decked with gold and silver images, saw Rolla's bridge and the tomb of Pizarro and had all the fruit they could eat for the modest sum of twenty-five cents. From Callao they had an uneventful run to San Francisco which they reached in one hundred and sixty-four days.

The ship *Duxbury*, Captain Varney, carrying the Old Harvard Company of Cambridge and an unnamed company, sailed from Boston, February 10, 1849. The *Duxbury* was a fine vessel, costing thirty thousand dollars. She took out a mixed cargo including a little clipper craft of ten tons, belonging to Lot Wheelwright, with the name, *Lone Star*, San Francisco, in gilt letters on her stern. The Cambridge company seems to have consisted of Harvard students, though no list of names is given in the papers of that day. The Rev. Mr. Brierly, who acted as chaplain on the voyage, presented a small library of religious and scientific books to the passengers on the *Duxbury*.[1] The day the *Duxbury* sailed a young man who for some reason was liable to arrest, on approaching the wharf to embark, saw the sheriff watching the gang plank. He dared not attempt to pass and yet the vessel left in twenty minutes. He turned into a grocery store kept by a friend and asked advice. "Get into this sugar box," said his friend and in

[1] A company from Cambridge, name not given, with same number of members went out on the *Sweden*, and as the only information the writer has is derived from letters not naming the company, he may have confused the two.

desperation he did so. The box was then headed up and marked " Medicine, this side up with care." The box was then put on a hand car and carried past the unsuspecting officer of the law. It is said, however, that the directions were not observed and that he stood on his head for some time before he was relieved. The *Duxbury* had her share of storms and calms, but by May 13 was off Staten Island and was a week in passing it, due to head winds. There was much complaint of the water on the *Duxbury* and the food was poor, but there certainly was no lack of religious instruction; each morning the Rev. Mr. Brierly read a chapter in the Bible, to those who wished to attend, made a prayer and then delivered a short address. On Wednesdays he held a prayer meeting, on Sundays a class meeting and Tuesdays and Fridays a lyceum. When they rounded Cape Horn, however, which they did May 22, religious instruction was intermitted. There was little sickness aboard except thirty cases of mumps and fifteen of measles. They were obliged to put into Juan Fernandez to fill their water casks and the passengers enjoyed their outing to its full extent. They explored the caves, chased the goats, and fished off the rocks. While they were there the *Emily Bourne*, with a Nantucket company, also stopped for water, rather a curious coincidence, for Juan Fernandez was rarely visited by company vessels in '49. The *Emily Bourne* was rather better provisioned than the *Duxbury* and they gave the Cambridge company such a dinner as they had not had for a long time: fresh fish and goat stew from the island, soft bread and butter, plum pudding and, best of all, baked beans. The voyage from the island to San Francisco was enlivened by a race with the bark

Edward Fletcher, from Boston, which left Rio at the same time they did, passing her to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." They also beat the *Charlotte*, from Salem, which left an hour before them. On arrival at San Francisco the Old Harvard Company set up their tent in Happy Valley and what they did there will be told in another chapter. The Rev. Mr. Brierly regained his health, on account of which he had made the voyage, settled at San José, bought a place there and sent for his family. At one time he acted as chaplain to the California Assembly.

The topsail schooner *Civilian*, Captain Thomas Dodge, sailed from Fisk's wharf, Boston, for California, November 6, 1849, carrying the Cochituate Trading and Mining Company. The company was raised by Josiah Hayward and son of Salem and numbered sixty men from towns in Essex County and Cape Cod. The shares were two hundred dollars each and the captain received one free for his services. The *Civilian* stopped five days at St. Catherine's and five at Valparaiso and arrived out in one hundred and forty-five days, going via Magellan. The company divided up one hundred dollars a share.

There were many other companies sailing from Boston for California of which the writer has no information except such as is given in the Appendix, and we will now consider those sailing from ports in Essex County.

Salem has the honor of having sent to California the first two vessels with cargoes especially designed for trade with the new El Dorado. The brig *Mary and Ellen*, Captain Eggleston, cleared October 27, 1848, and the bark *Eliza*, Captain Augustus Staniford Perkins, November 23, 1848. Both went up the river to Sacramento and both

made lucrative voyages. Their story has been so often told that it seems hardly necessary to repeat it. Neither carried regularly organized and named companies, but the *Eliza* had its company song which later found many imitators.

I came from Salem City,
With my wash bowl on my knee,
I'm going to California
The gold dust for to see.
It seemed all night, the day I left,
The weather it was dry,
The sun so hot I froze to death,
Oh! brothers, don't you cry.

CHORUS

Oh! California,
That's the land for me,
I'm going to Sacramento
With my wash bowl on my knee.

I jumped aboard the Liza ship
And travelled on the sea,
And every time I thought of home,
I wished it wasn't me.
The vessel reared like any horse,
That had of oats a wealth,
It found it couldn't throw me, so,
I thought I'd throw myself.

I thought of all the pleasant times
We've had together here,
I thought I ought to cry a bit,
But couldn't find a tear.
The pilot bread was in my mouth,
The gold dust in my eye,
And, though I'm going far away,
Dear brothers, don't you cry.

Bk. "ELIZA."
of SALEM. 240 Tons
In California 1849.
Gift of Mr. F. H. Lee.
ELIZA - SALEM.

I soon shall be in Francisco,
And then I'll look around,
And when I see the gold lumps there,
I'll pick them off the ground.
I'll scrape the mountains clean,
I'll drain the rivers dry,
A pocket full of rocks bring home,
So, brothers, don't you cry.

One of the most interesting companies sailing from Massachusetts was the Salem and California Mining and Trading Company, afterwards known as the LaGrange Company, from the name of the vessel in which they sailed. The originators bought the bark *LaGrange* and formed a company of sixty members from Salem and its vicinity, all representative men, many of whom afterwards rose to positions of distinction and wealth. It was from the members of this company that the "Society of California Pioneers of New England" afterwards took its origin.

March 17, 1849, Phillips wharf, Salem, was crowded with hundreds of men and women, relatives, friends, and interested observers, all come to see the Argonauts start on their golden quest. Before the vessel pulled out from the wharf, a song, entitled "The Californian," words by Jesse Hutchinson, was sung by the company.

We've formed and all well manned
To journey afar to the promised land;
Where the golden ore is rich in store
On the banks of the Sacramento shore.

Chorus

Then ho! Boys, ho! who to California go,
For the mountains cold are covered with gold,
Along the banks of the Sacramento.
Ho! ho! away we go, digging up gold in Francisco.

Oh! the gold is there, most anywhere
And they dig it out with an iron bar,
And when it's thick, with a spade and pick,
They've taken out lumps as big as a brick.

Oh! don't you cry or heave a sigh,
We'll come back again by and by,
Don't breathe a fear or shed a tear,
But patiently wait about two year.

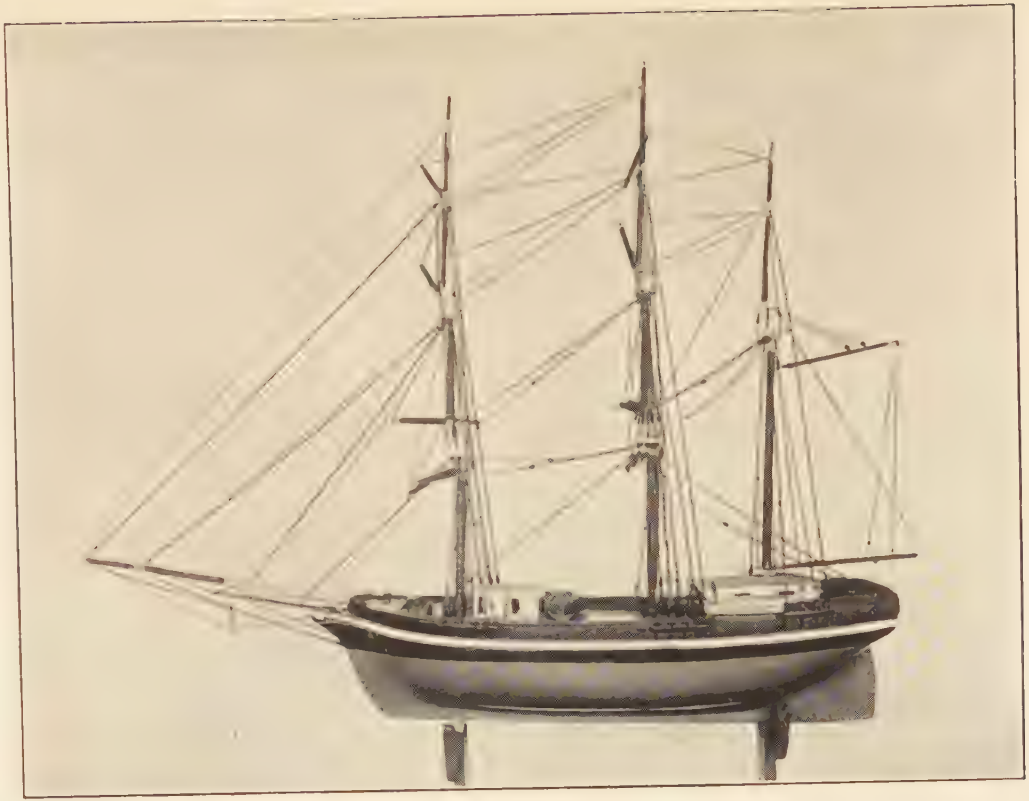
We expect our share of the coarsest fare,
And sometimes to sleep in the open air,
Upon the cold ground we shall all sleep sound
Except when the wolves are howling round.

As off we roam over the dark sea foam,
We'll never forget our friends at home
For memories kind will bring to mind
The thoughts of those we leave behind.

In the days of old, the Prophets told
Of the City to come, all framed in gold,
Peradventure they foresaw the day,
Now dawning in California.

The *LaGrange* sailed from Salem for California, March 17, 1849, and her voyage was an uneventful one. A journal kept by one of the members states that Mr. Bogardus with bass viol and Mr. Kemp with his violin helped to keep the company amused. March 27 three of the hens flew overboard and the vessel was hove to and the fowls rescued. Hens were worth good money in California and they sold those that survived the voyage for twenty-five dollars apiece. They had few accidents on the trip; a man overboard who was rescued, and carrying away the fore-topsail yard, seem to have been the most serious.

April 14 they spoke the brig *Rising Sun* of New York



BARK *LA GRANGE*

From a model by Dr. Levi Saunders

and in a deck-to-deck conversation a gentleman on the *Rising Sun* offered to bet a basket of champagne that their vessel would reach San Francisco first; Mr. Anthony Francis of the *LaGrange* accepted the bet, but it is not stated who won. Like many other companies they wrote out the names of those aboard and put the paper in a well corked bottle and threw it overboard. May 22 they spoke the bark *Orb* of Boston, with the North Western Company aboard. She had been into Rio to repair damages. The *Orb* had formerly been owned in Salem and had the reputation of being very fast. The North Western Company was a fashionable organization and the neat uniforms of its members showed a marked contrast to the rough sailor suits of the men on the *LaGrange.*

June 7 they sighted the Falkland Islands and a few days later stopped at Fanning's to shift cargo. From Fanning's they went to Eagle Island and were wind bound there for a week. Here the company had a chance, probably the only one they ever enjoyed, to use their guns. They shot ducks, seal, and geese, one hundred and seventeen of the latter in one day.

July 4 they rounded Cape Horn and celebrated by blowing horns, martial music, reading the Declaration, speeches, toasts, and a dinner of roast geese, plum pudding and mince pie. They made another stop at Valparaiso and reached San Francisco one hundred and eighty-four days from Salem. Before arrival they held a meeting in the cabin and voted to change the name of the company from Salem and California to the LaGrange Association.

September 19 they moved the vessel over to Benecia and leaving twenty-five of the members to set up the little

steamer, sailed from there up the river to Sacramento. Tying the vessel up to the bank with ten of the party to look after her, the remainder of the company, twenty-five in number, with wagons drawn by six yoke of oxen, struck out for Weaver Creek and Hangstown, now Plainsville. The oxen died on the march and after a month the party returned in disgust. The steamer, the *Commodore Jones*, was sold for thirty-five thousand dollars. They sold the copper off the *LaGrange* to make sieves, the sails for roofing, and stripped the rigging and sold the hull to the city of Sacramento to use as a prison ship. She remained moored to the bank until 1860 when she was washed away by a freshet. October 31 a letter from the mines says: "It is impossible for us to hang together as a company and work at the mines, every one must work for themselves." The company broke up.

Another company sailed from Salem on the ship *Elizabeth*, Captain James S. Kimball. It consisted of Salem and Beverly men who owned the vessel. The *Elizabeth* sailed April 5, 1849, and the only information about her is from a short letter one of the members wrote home: "We had a good dinner today. The rice was well cooked and the beef and pork well boiled. We are to have prunes for supper. We caught cape hens and albatross with hook and line off the Cape. Ate some of a porpoise the other day and it was not bad." "December 30. Had a good run until we were near the equator and then we were becalmed twenty days. Off Patagonia we were nearly frozen to death. Had enough to eat and drink and a most agreeable captain, who did everything to make the time pass pleasantly. Made a good passage to 'Frisco. Captain David

Carter of Beverly died on the passage out. Think San Francisco the most contemptible dirty place one could wish to see. Not fit for man or beast." The *Elizabeth* made the run out in one hundred and sixty-five days.

The Salem Mechanics Mining and Trading Company sailed from Salem, December 6, 1849, on the ship *Crescent*, Captain Madison. The company was organized with Albert Lecky of Salem, president, and Henry W. Haskell, vice-president. The vessel was of three hundred and forty tons measurement, fitted up and owned by the company of sixty-one men who went in her. She carried nineteen passengers and an assorted cargo. Mr. Lecky took with him his wife and children and occupied two staterooms, thrown into one. January 17, 1850, he writes, "If you want to go to California come this way." The *Crescent* crossed the line thirty days out. As usual Father Neptune made a call on the company but was mobbed back into the hold. They passed Rio January 29, and by February 15 were four hundred miles north of the Falkland Islands. February 21 they passed the Straits of LeMaire under a full moon and the company had a fine view of the clouds of Magellan at the zenith; doubled Cape Horn in a gale. March 9 they spoke the *Charles* of Boston; she came under their lee, and then drifted down about fifty yards and collided with them, doing some damage to both ships. The little island of Juan Fernandez, where the *Crescent* stopped to fill her water casks, is about fifteen miles by four and from all accounts must have been a very attractive place. The water there was unusually good and the island provided delicious peaches, quinces, and giant rhubarb. All sorts of fine fish could be caught from the rocks, and

crawfish which rivalled the lobster of the East. There was some complaint on the *Crescent* that the plum duff was boiled in salt water and they had it too often or as one of the company put it,

> Plum duff hot, plum duff cold,
> Plum duff from the pot, three days old.

The *Crescent* had an uneventful run from the island to California, reaching there in one hundred and sixty-five days.

Cape Ann, including Essex, Manchester, Rockport, and Gloucester, sent out a number of companies to California but they were all small. The first company to go was the Cape Ann Pioneers, sailing January 31 on the schooner *Boston*. The *Boston* was a fast vessel of rakish appearance and off Brazil was said to have been taken for a pirate. On the run out she raced and beat the ship *Edward Everett*. The company aboard consisted of nine men from Rockport, one from Gloucester, and Captain William Beard who commanded the vessel. They passed through the Strait of Magellan and Captain Beard did not advise others to try it. The *Boston* was sold in San Francisco for five thousand dollars.

The schooners *LooChow*, *Billow*, *Astoria*, *Paragon* also sailed from Gloucester for California at different times during '49 carrying small companies; seventy-seven men in all went on these little vessels. The brig *Ann*, Captain S. P. Burnham, sailed June 4 with the Mattapan and California Mining Company. The company of forty-two consisted of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Boston men. Two companies of Cape Ann men sailed from

Newburyport. One, the Rockport Granite Company of sixteen members, sailed October 20 on the ship *Euphrasia.* She made a fine run out of one hundred and forty-nine days but there was much dissatisfaction with the food and treatment aboard. One of the passengers expressed his feelings in a dirge of which we quote two verses:

> The Euphrasia was about to sail,
> And spread her canvas to the gale,
> To carry passengers and freight
> No difference 'twixt good and great.
>
> To D. P. Day we did apply,
> Who told us many a flattering lie,
> He said your fare shall be so good
> That no one can find fault aboard.

Then followed some twenty verses of the same calibre and if the food on the *Euphrasia* was as bad as the verses we do not wonder the men objected. The company on the *Euphrasia* celebrated Washington's birthday in great style. There was an oration by Robert S. Pierpont, a poem by H. Henry Read, and at the dinner, which was a temperance affair, the following toast was offered by George W. Cram: "The present company of New England adventurers — may their conduct in the distant land we are going to visit be strongly marked by the characteristics of him whose birthday we have convened to celebrate." Mr. Cram, the toastmaster at the dinner, seems to have been quite successful at the mines as not long after his arrival in California he sent home to his family a thousand dollars in gold dust. He reports that George W. Lake of Gloucester is making forty-six dollars a day pointing shovels. An-

other company of eight from Gloucester and one from Rockport sailed from Newburyport on the ship *Domingo*, Captain Bray. Probably other companies sailed from Newburyport besides those on the *Domingo* and *Euphrasia*, but the writer has no information concerning them nor could he find any record of companies sailing from Marblehead.

There were at least three companies which sailed from Beverly for California, the San Francisco Company on the bark *San Francisco*, the Essex County and California Company on the bark *Metropolis*, and the Beverly Mining Company on the brig *Christiana*.

The *Metropolis*, Captain Bennett, sailed from Beverly for San Francisco, November 15, 1849, carrying a company of forty men. The *Metropolis* made her first stop at St. Catherine's where they took on supplies and picked up a Mr. Foster, mate of a condemned schooner, in place of William Cole of Beverly, who gave up his wages to the company. A letter from Stephen A. Woodberry, dated January 23, 1850, gives some information concerning the voyage:

We arrived at San Francisco the 16th and at Sacramento last night. We had 120 days passage from St. Catherine's. Off Cape Horn we had our top sails reefed for 20 days. We sprang our jib-boom and fore topmast. Sent down fore top gallantmast and made the rest of the voyage without it. We passed our time making dirks, daggers, slung shots and pistol cases and now we find they are of little use. Thomas Foster of Salem, 2nd mate of ship *Ocean*, condemned at St. Catherine's, worked his passage out with us. The ship's provisions were not as good as we expected. Considerable of the bread spoiled. I

do not advise you to come here for I think it would cost $400 or $500 for the passage from Beverly. The Company have consigned the vessel to Peirce, Willis, and Fay, vessel and cargo. Vessel to bring $6000. The Company has broken up. We sold one old and five little pigs for $100, I think they would have brought $15 in Beverly. We start for the mines in a few days. I go with William Davis, William B. Witham, and Daniel Waite of Beverly, Samuel R. Bartlett of Lynn, and Niles P. Whittier of Methuen.

January 27, 1850, the company made a partial settlement with the shareholders, paying fifty dollars to each member, part in cash and part in stores and provisions. The company lost money but just how much it is hard to say.

The *Metropolis* cost	$12,000
Repairs	1,330
Stores	3,274
Cargo	3,290
	$19,894

Mr. Bennett, the treasurer, reports that he received nineteen thousand five hundred dollars and expenses were nineteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-four dollars, a balance against the company of three hundred and ninety-four dollars.

The Beverly Mining and Trading Company sailed August 16, 1849, on the brig *Christiana*, Thomas Patterson, master. She cleared for Benecia. The vessel was owned by Henry B. Ward of Danvers and Thomas Patterson, Josiah Lovett, and Robert C. Benet of Beverly. The company consisted of twenty-one members, nine of whom acted as crew without pay. One of the members writes to

friends in Beverly, " We made Valparaiso December 23 and found the harbor filled with vessels of all nations, from the smallest to English and French frigates. The Bay of Valparaiso is the finest harbor in the world. The land rises like an amphitheatre, hill rising above hill until they become mountains. There were one hundred ships and brigs in the harbor. There is only one wharf, merely used for landing. You can ride anywhere about the city for twelve and a half cents. The streets are well paved and watered, with fine sidewalks. The houses are painted in brilliant colors and make a fine appearance. Most of them are of brick, plastered, built around a courtyard. The inhabitants are Chilians, half-breeds, and foreigners. The women are very handsome, I should judge, though as they cover all their face but one eye with their mantillas, it is hard to tell. The United States battleship *Ohio* entered while we were there and gave her salute of twenty-one guns to the Chilian Government and fifteen to the French frigate. I counted twenty different echoes to each shot."

Chapter IV

THE ROUTE AROUND THE HORN

(*continued*)

It's North you may run, to the rime ringed Sun,
Or South to the blind Horn's hate,
Or East all the way to Mississippi Bay,
Or West to the Golden Gate.

"JOURNAL of the Proceedings on board the barque *San Francisco,* THOMAS REMMONDS, MASTER, of and from Beverly for California, by Captain Isaac W. Baker."

The Company was organized under the name of the Beverly Joint Stock San Francisco Company with shares at $500 each. The cargo consisted of 63,000 feet of planed boards, 10,000 bricks, provisions for two years and a deck load of eight house frames. The Company consisted of 40 members, a cook, steward, twenty pigs, a dog, a kitten and a crow.

Aug. 15, 1849. A clear beautiful day. All the population of Beverly were astir and the streets alive with men and women, boys and girls, making their way down Cabot Street to Foster and Lovett's wharf to see the Californians off. At 8 A.M. the pilot came aboard and at 8.30 the hawser was cast off and the barque moved slowly from the crowded wharf into the stream, leaving weeping women and cheering men and boys. After crossing the bar the ship hove to and the roll was called. No one was missing, so up helm and away for Baker's Island. At half past nine the pilot was discharged and the voyage to California begun.

[All California gold companies at this time sang variations on "Susannah, Don't You Cry," and the San Francisco Company had their song, composed by Captain Baker.[1]]

The San Francisco Company,
For San Francisco bound,
Our barque is *San Francisco* too,
The same name all around.
A Company of jolly boys
As ever got together,
All bound for California,
In spite of wind and weather.

O! California,
We'll see you bye and bye
If we've good luck, and if we don't,
Why, bless you, don't you cry.

We started from Old Beverly,
Mid cheers from great and small,
We hope to get back bye and bye
When we'll return them all.
The day we left the wind was fair,
And pleasant was the sky,
The fair sex wept, the boys hurrahed
And we'd no time to cry.

We doubled close 'round Beverly bar,
'Twas close upon our lee,
We then hove to and called the roll
And squared away for sea.

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[1] When the *Sovereign of the Seas* came into San Francisco on her first voyage, the thousands assembled to greet her, sang,

"O! Susannah, darling, take your ease,
For we have beat the clipper fleet,
The *Sovereign of the Seas*."

Even the native boatmen on the Chagres River poled their canoes to the tune of "Susannah."

We've forty men in Company,
A cook and steward too,
We've twenty pigs, a dog and cat,
And what is that to you.

Now here's success you'll surely say,
To all you willing souls,
And may you have the joyful chance,
Of filling all your bowls.
But not just yet, but bye and bye
And full of glittering ore,
And then return to where you wish
And never want for more.

O! California,
We'll see you bye and bye,
If we've good luck and if we don't,
Why, bless you, Don't you cry.

Friday, Aug. 17th A favorable wind and pleasant weather, everybody in good spirits and enjoying themselves as well as they can. Two vessels in company which we are fast taking leave of. Considerable sport with Moses the crow who seems remarkably fond of stray pipes and jack knives or any other small articles left in his way and who quite familiarly

[Part of MS. omitted.]

Saturday, Aug. 18 Light, baffling winds. From 6 to 8 P.M. the San Francisco Melodeon Band, consisting of bass drum, kettle drum, cymbals, accordion, tambourine, and bells held forth for the edification of the Company.

Tuesday, Aug. 21 Tuesday, Aug. 21st. is ever to be commemorated by the remembrance of the untimely death of Moses, the crow, who committed an involuntary suicide soon after dinner. In foolishly attempting to fly when he knew he couldn't he lost his balance when alighting and we lost his company. Well, it was to be so and no doubt he has gone to a place

where other crows cease to trouble and where he will be at rest. But then he was so tame and so comical and so mischievous and such a thieving blackguard that we miss him very much. Kate, the cat, having recovered from sea sickness is busily engaged washing her face and cleaning her nails. The dog having taken possession of the long boat seems inclined to dispute the right of search in that locality. The peak berth leaks. The water will come in.

A smoky house, a scolding wife,
Are miseries of human life —
A leaky ship in squally weather,
Is worse than both of these together.

Monday, Aug. 27 Eleven days from Beverly. Light breeze and warm. Members of the Company variously employed, a gang on the forecastle reading the Bible, every one for himself, another knot amidships discussing politics, a third party aft singing spiritual melodies and scattering individuals wandering about the deck seeking what they may devour.

Wednesday, Aug. 29 Fourteen days from Beverly. A junk bottle is made fast to a float and towed astern and our marksmen, fully equipped with rifles, muskets and pistols are blazing away as if in earnest. The aforesaid bottle after undergoing as much anxiety as bottles can and dodging about in the wake of the barque as much as the man at the helm will allow, finally came in safe from its precarious situation shining like a dollar and ready for another trial. The dog has been consigned to a watery grave for cause.

Tuesday, Sept. 4 We've killed pig No. 2 and killed him on purpose. Pig No. 1 was accidentally murdered last week under circumstances of such extreme pain to him and our regret that I forgot to record it. One of our after guards, having nothing else to do, and the fear of the devil not being before his

eyes, did wantonly and maliciously draw his knife and cut off the creature's tail, just for a lark, and the poor animal bled to death. Pig No. 2 died as a pig should die being stuck in a scientific manner and therefore a good sea pie is expected. Mock turtle soup and roast pig for dinner.

Monday, Sept. 10. Strong trade winds. We are going fast considering we are sailing close to the wind. Two hundred and seventeen miles since yesterday noon according to our chronometer.

Sunday, Sept. 23. Thirty-nine days from Beverly and six days with the wind dead ahead. More discussion about stockholders and substitutes standing watch and working ship. Keep cool, gentlemen, and don't get excited, do what you agreed to do or else about ship and go back.

Tuesday, Sept. 25. Watch on deck busy with jobs and watch below mending garments, reading, writing, playing all fours and whist. From 6 to 8 gymnastics. Breakfast Indian mush and molasses. Dinner salt fish and potatoes. Supper ditto.

Tuesday, Oct. 2. A nice shower in the dog watch and afterwards a serenade by the melodeon band. Breakfast, hashed meat and potatoes, dinner, porpoise in various forms, Livermore says the best dinner since he left Beverly, others contrary minded. Another grunter sacrificed for our appetites.

Tuesday, Oct. 16. Skylarking going on in every way and shape, gymnastic exercises and feats with hands and feet, shinning up the rigging, singing, making the evening charmingly hideous with noises or imitations of all manner of beasts, birds, chickens, cocks, grunting of pigs, lowing of cattle, bleating of sheep and in fact a sort of second edition of noises that may be imagined to have existed on board of the craft which Grand Father Noah took charge of a few years since.

Suddenly the rub-a-dub-dub of the kettle drum, calling the roll, may be heard and various instruments of music appear from various parts of the ship as if by magic and the San Francisco Melodeon Band is in full operation. Yankee Doodle, Soldiers' Joy, Fisher's Hornpipe, Farmer's Boy, Auld Lang Syne until eight bells is heard, the din stops and all is quiet.

Sunday, Oct. 21. Sixty-seven days from Beverly. All hands mustered aft, which do you want, tea or coffee? Twenty-eight for coffee and fourteen for tea. Two little pigs died today.

Sat., Oct. 27. At five P.M. made the land about Staten Island and coast of S. America bearing from S. 1/2 W. to S. E. 1/2 E. distant about forty miles. Rough, ragged looking land, high peaks and bluffs interspersed with banks of snow that one can almost feel by looking through a glass. Cape pigeons and petrel in abundance and a few penguins. Killed the old sow last night:

Fresh pork once more,
Once more plum duff,
Take hold, take hold, sure there's enough.
Eat, eat your fill, don't look forlorn,
Here's roasted pig and there's Cape Horn.
So don't be making such a bother,
We'll eat up one and pass the other.

Sunday, Oct. 30. Broached a barrel of sugar, the only one we can get at until cargo is discharged. Shared it out about five pounds to each man. Also shared out a couple of kegs of butter so that we could help ourselves without running to the steward. At 8-o-clock Cape Horn lay north by compass, distant about 30 miles.

Thurs., Nov. 1. Strong gales and a heavy sea. Birds plenty and quite tame. Livermore has been made steward of the forecastle and he wet his commission like any jolly tar.

Thurs., Nov. 29. PROCLAMATION. According to the custom of our ancestors, and in order to show a proper regard for the habit throughout our N. England States in general and the Old Bay State in particular, it is desirable that, though far away, we should continue to follow their example and set apart a particular day as a day of public Thanksgiving throughout our little floating world. May we individually call to remembrance all the pleasures enjoyed on former anniversaries and be mindful of the good precepts of our Forefathers, handed down from generation to generation and annually distributed through the hands of our respective Governors. May we look back with pleasure to those days of yore when as children we enjoyed ourselves, each in his respective way and enjoy them again in imagination. May petty differences and imaginary injuries be amicably settled, without hard feelings, and let us all be thankful that we have had no more trouble when much more might have been expected. Let us also give thanks to Higher Powers for our individual health and prosperous passage so far. At such a period then, signalized by such prosperity, I do, by the advice of myself and with the consent of King Neptune, appoint Thursday, the 29th, as a day of Public Thanksgiving and recommend all hands and the cook to assemble at their respective places and while enjoying their Sea Turkey and duff or whatever fixins may happen to turn up, remember that thousands are worse off than we are and with cheerful hearts enjoy, if only in name, our annual Thanksgiving.

In behalf of the Governor, without Council.

Neptune. ISAAC W. BAKER, Sec'y *pro tem.*

The morning was pleasant and fair,
The breezes were gentle and free,
All hands were heard to declare
'Tis a pleasant Thanksgiving at sea.

Californians will ever remember,
Should they live to a venerable age,
The scenes on the day of November,
Which I now inscribe on this page.

We had for dinner, roast pork with apple sauce, beef pie, plum duff, oranges, lemons, figs, and nuts. Then we had shooting matches and a general good time.

Tuesday, Nov. 20. See I have got my Journal mixed, this should have gone in before the 20th. At daylight the land about Valparaiso in full view. About 9 A.M. hauled around the point and entered the harbor. Lowered our boats and towed in, anchoring in 27 fathoms. Several vessels arrived in company with us but the American Consul tells us we have brought the latest news by a fortnight. They all report very rough weather off Cape Horn, some having been detained in that vicinity from 30 to 90 days and been driven south as far as seventy-one degrees. A schooner belonging to N. Orleans arrived the day after we did having sailed from there in March! was 120 days from St. Catherine's Island, being off Cape Horn when we left Beverly, about 8 months from N. Orleans to Valparaiso.

The bark *John Walls, Jr.* which left N. Haven the last of May left Valparaiso six days before we arrived. Most of the vessels that have arrived here have had long voyages and they consider us as lucky dogs, which we are. Valparaiso is a curious place to look at from the sea but a hundred times more so when examined ashore. A succession of hills, hollows and precipices some hundreds of feet high with just room enough for a small running stream at the foot, that's Valparaiso. The soil is a reddish clay appearing as if it had been burnt, interspersed, here and there, with bushes and weeds, a cactus occasionally showing its prickly form and a considerable quantity of an

BARK *SAN FRANCISCO*

herb called by the natives, Salvia, much resembling our sage in taste and smell. The climate is excellent, producing the finest fruits in abundance but as we were here in the early Spring, November being about the same as April with us, we could only get oranges, lemons, and strawberries. The latter were of enormous size and the best I ever tasted. As to the manners and customs of the inhabitants I can say but little as I was on shore not exceeding twelve hours, but from what I saw I judge that they have enough of the former to be respectful to superiors and I think they are hospitable because they called off their dogs when they ran at us, but I believe it is customary to jew an American just as an American would jew them under the same circumstances. Valparaiso is a beautiful city and I should have liked to see more of it. The harbor is a fine one and is crowded with vessels of all nations, some of them men of war. However, San Francisco is the city I most wish to see.

Recapitulation

Left Beverly Aug. 15th. Crossed the equator Sept. 26th. 42 days. Passed the lat. of Rio Oct. 7th. 53 days. Off Montevideo, Oct. 14th. In 71 days, 9 hours, made Staten Island, passed Cape Horn and Island of Diego Ramirez 76 days from Beverly. Nov. 30th. passed the lat. of Cape Horn on the Pacific side.

> Now as we lay off Monterey,
> The boys began to frisk-O!
> And some did swear, if wind was fair,
> We'd soon be at Francisco.

But you see the wind wasn't fair, any thing but fair, and we lay banging about among great waves as big as a flour barrel, under close reefed topsails and the rain pouring down on our oil jackets;

Drops large and small, in many a squall,
And now and then a spray too,
O'er head and feet were sure to meet
And that both night and day too.

Yes, indeed! and the barque rolling gunnels under and the salt water smashing across the decks under the lumber, in at one port and out at the other, and the sails ashivering and the sailors almost shivering too, only it was not quite cold enough. All this on deck, while below,

From various hands the pots and pans
Disperse in every quarter,
Some salt junk eat, while others treat,
And — never mind the water.

One never minds the water in such weather as this, when it's too plenty, both salt and fresh, so plenty, indeed, that we would like most any thing for a change and although we have not seen the sun of late and therefore not sure of our position, yet

One thing we know, that we can show,
And that too without boasting,
We've all enough of this 'ere stuff
Called California coasting.

'Tis rather disagreeable at this season of the year, for, although not cold, yet continual gales of wind and squalls of rain are anything but pleasant when close in to the land and so many vessels about, so we can't help saying

And thus we talk and act, but then
'Tis useless so to hanker,
These things we'll bear, 'till all is fair,
And then run in and anchor.

Jan. 10, 1850. Thursday. Sounded in fifty fathom water. Caught a red snapper that weighed 10 pounds. You bet it tasted good but it was only a taste for forty hungry men.

Friday, Jan. 11. At daylight land in sight and a number of vessels in company. At sunset entered the narrows of San Francisco Bay with a dozen or more vessels and anchored, 149 days from Beverly.

There were two other vessels sailing in 1849 from Beverly for California carrying well known citizens but it is not known whether they went as an organized company or not. The brig *Sterling* sailed early in January, 1849, carrying George F. Nourse, George H. Boyden, Henry Foster, and Edward P. Bryant of Beverly and several from Lynn. The brig *Antares*, Captain Edward Howe, sailed for San Francisco some time in September, 1849, carrying William Leach, Joseph Davis, and David Boynton of Beverly, Charles Winslow of Boston and Joseph S. Brown of Lynn.

The Mechanics Joint Stock Company which sailed from New Haven, May 30, 1849, on the bark *John Walls, Jr.*, carried a number of Beverly men and one, Nathaniel M. Wallis, who went as mate of the vessel, was drowned with four others of the company in San Francisco harbor. It is also stated that the brig *Gem* took out a company from Beverly in '49 but there are no particulars.

Another vessel, not a company vessel and not sailing in '49, but of which the writer has particular information, was the brig *Tigress*. In 1850, Captain Octavius Howe, who as mariner and captain had sailed to almost all parts of the world except California, although very conservative and somewhat of a pessimist, caught the gold fever and engaged in what proved the most unfortunate venture of his life. He had for some time been interested in

two brigs, the *Antares* and *McLellan*, and he now sold the latter and entered into an agreement with Captain James Bryant and Ezra Foster of Beverly and W. H. Hunt of Salem [1] to buy and load a vessel for the California market. The partners bought a small brig, named the *Tigress*, and proceeded to load her.[2] Probably such a mixed cargo had never left the town of Beverly before and certainly no such cargo has since. Not knowing just what would be in demand in California when the brig reached there, they made up the cargo on a shotgun theory and bought small quantities of everything they could think of. Old odds and ends that had accumulated in the stores of Beverly and Salem now found a market.[3] It would be impossible to give the list in full but a few of the articles carried were salt and smoked beef and pork, preserved meat, butter, cheese, lard, peas, flower seeds, salt, pepper, Stoughton bitters, apples (dried and fresh), coffee, sugar, spice tea, honey, vinegar, pickles, canned lobster, sausages, herrings, hot drops, jams, jellies and all sorts of fruit syrups, leather, boots, shoes, writing paper, pens, pencils, and books, furniture of all kinds, woodenware, tinware, hardware, tobacco, pipes, cigars, rifles, powder, shot, brooms, paints, oil, varnish, cordage, twine, duck, stockings, and epsom salts.

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[1] Mr. Hunt was a merchant of Salem in company with Robert Brookhouse.

[2] The *Tigress* was a brig of one hundred and fifty-seven tons, built in Boston in 1829, and owned originally by David Pingree and George West. She was sold by them to Gloucester parties and bought back in 1858 by Robert Brookhouse and William Hunt.

[3] A California paper, writing of the trade in 1850, says: "The merchants on the Atlantic coast complain they have lost money on their shipments to this state. They have lost money on the useless truck they send out, things they could send nowhere else."

Thus the *Tigress*, with a cargo invoiced at $17,419, became a veritable floating department store stocked with everything the heart of man could desire. They did not cater to feminine wants, for in California there were few women at that time. If this cargo had been properly packed and they had sailed six months earlier it is possible their sanguine hopes might have been realized and the owners made small fortunes, but, as will be seen, they had overstayed the market.

The four men who owned the brig and her cargo now sat down and drew up a letter of instructions to her captain.

Beverly, Aug. 20, 1850.

Captain Octavius Howe:

The brig *Tigress*, now under your command and ready for sea, our instructions are that you proceed direct to San Francisco, California. On your arrival at that port you will inform yourself of the state of the market in that city and also at Sacramento and other places up the river. Your cargo being mostly in small packages, we are of the opinion that it will be for our interest that you proceed up river rather than to dispose of any portion of your cargo in San Francisco, but this we are willing to leave to your judgment. Should you receive a satisfactory offer for the whole cargo and the vessel we have no objections to your making an entire sale. Should you find it necessary to employ a commission house at San Francisco we recommend Flint and Peabody as responsible and worthy of confidence.

You will be furnished with a letter of introduction to Mr. John D. Hunt, now of the firm of S. S. Blood & Co., Brokers, who will give you information of markets at San Francisco and he may be able to assist you in effecting sales. We would avoid

landing cargo in stores for sale as we consider the hazards of fire very great. In the event of your not meeting satisfactory markets at San Francisco you are at liberty to proceed to other ports in the river, perhaps St. Nickolaus may offer inducements, or you may proceed to Trinity River, provided you can do so with safety, or to Oregon, whichever in your judgment you deem best for our interests. We wish you to make remittances for the sales of cargo in gold dust, paying the usual rate for insurance and freight, through the hands of Adams and Co., taking bills of lading for the same consigned to Capt. James Bryant of Beverly, who is the general agent of the partners at home. The vessel we think well adapted to the trade of the coast or Islands in the Pacific and being in fine order we think you will be able to sell her soon after the disposal of her cargo. For your compensation for the present voyage you are to receive five per cent commission on net sales and forty dollars a month.

Signed by owners,

James Bryant.
W. H. Hunt.
O. Howe.
Ezra Foster.

The health certificate was signed by Collector of the Port, August 19, 1850 and next morning at 10.50 the *Tigress* started on her voyage. The wind was light and baffling and it was two hours before they passed the Haste but at half-past one they were well outside Baker's Island and here Captain Bryant, who had come to see them off, left the brig. The crew of the *Tigress* were all from Beverly or vicinity and their names as taken from the log book were: Child, Davis, Joplin, Gardiner, Baker, Wallis, Brown, Popham, and Freeman Smith who seems to have

acted as mate. They all took turns as cook. There was also one passenger by the name of Hamilton.

The voyage was uneventful but the *Tigress* was a dull sailer and as she pushed her round bows through the heated waters of the tropics the rats held high carnival on the cheese, candles and other good things provided, the weevils got to work on the rice and hard bread, the butter grew stronger and the eggs more mature, and the popping of corks from the fruit syrups in the hold told the captain that part of his cargo was discharged. The only items of interest in the log of the *Tigress* are as follows: "In latitude 48 S. saw two sperm whales, also albatross and cape pigeons. In lat. 53 had a tremendous gale and Nov. 21st. sighted Cape Horn twenty-five miles distant, and after six days of violent gales got 'round the Cape and had pleasant weather all the way to San Francisco." January 26, 1851, they entered the Golden Gate, one hundred and sixty-six days after leaving Beverly.

The story of the results of the voyage are best told by Captain Howe's letters. February 16, two weeks after his arrival, he writes Captain Bryant.

We arrived safely at this port Feb. 2nd. and had we not been delayed eight days by foggy weather after making land, our passage would have been a short one compared with other vessels. I found on my arrival the market to be extremely dull and I lay quiet considering what course to pursue. I went to Sacramento and as far up as Nickolaus to consult my brother, Edward Howe, and decide for myself, and came to the conclusion that we should do as well or better in San Francisco. Goods were bringing no better prices there and in but little demand and the vessel would have to be brought back to San

Francisco to sell, as they are worth nothing up there. I have consigned the vessel to S. Blood & Co., and as soon as we can get a berth where the vessel will be safe we are in hopes to effect sales of some parts of our cargo at prices that will pay. At the same time I wish you to understand that many of our invoices could not be sold at the present time for more than their first cost. The whole country is full of goods and large arrivals are expected. All kinds of trade are so very fluctuating and uncertain that for my own part I put no reliance on any predictions of great improvement. I hope for the best, however, and shall hold on for a while.

February 20 he writes again:

I enclose the bill of lading for a quantity of gold dust, about $1000, which my brother Edward desired to forward on account of the brig *Antares*. I have seen him and also his houses and land at Nickolaus. They could not be sold at present at any price and I think it doubtful if they ever bring much.

March 22 he writes again:

By the tenor of your letter of Jan. 9th. I am of the opinion that you are hardly aware of the dulness of the market in California at the present time. So far from having any offer made for the vessel and cargo we find it extremely difficult to sell even a small portion of the cargo at a rate which will pay freight and charges, and some part of it could not be sold at invoice cost. We have sold a few articles at a small profit. The shot brought $10 a bag. Shovels, $26 per dozen, axes $58. Tobacco 150 per cent advance. They were the only articles aboard which were in demand. Short handled shovels were worth $70, had we been loaded with these we should have made our pile. First quality tobacco in small packages is in demand at 85 cents a pound, ours being in large packages and not first rate, cannot

be sold. Had our cigars been good imported cigars they would have been worth 60 dollars a hundred; as they are American made and not very good at that we could not sell them at 15 dollars. We paid too much for them. The bread sold for eleven and the rice for twelve cents a pound, it was in bad condition from weevils. Butter is very dull, first quality worth forty to fifty cents a pound, ours is very poor and looks like lard. Preserved meat, pickles and preserves in no demand. If our seeds had been packed in air tight cans they would have paid a handsome profit; as they are, we cannot sell them. Boots, shoes, paints and oils could only be sold at a sacrifice. In regard to following up this business I would say that it is not probable that there will ever be so large profits made as heretofore. Neither will it pay to send vessels out here and after selling their cargo throw them away, which is the case now; still I think there is as good chance to make money in this trade as any other but the vessels must calculate on a freight home as well as outwards. The trade to California and China will soon be taken by clipper ships. The *White Squall*, 1500 tons, sailed from this port a few days since with a freight out of 74,000 dollars. Butter for this port should be put up in kegs not in pots and the kegs put in pickle. Stewert's sugar house syrup is the favorite here. Ames's steel shovels, Collins and Hunt's axes and imported regalia cigars are most used.

It was a sad day for the partners in Beverly when they received Captain Howe's letters and found their golden dreams shattered, but with the same misconception of actual conditions which characterized the whole expedition, they now wrote him on no account to discharge his cargo on shore on account of the danger of fire, but to proceed up the river and peddle it out on the banks. Captain Howe in a letter reminded the owners that the goods were

in small packages and to obtain what some buyers desired might necessitate moving several tons of cargo. The partners had nothing more to suggest and after remaining in San Francisco four months, Captain Howe wrote his last letter to Captain Bryant.

Aug. 30, 1851.

I have sold the brig for $900 and have likewise disposed of most of the cargo and I intend to leave for home Sept. 6th. I have kept the brig in good order but she is not worth much and the sale was the best I could do. I shall leave with Eldridge and Pousland that part of the cargo unsold. The result of the voyage is bad for all of us but it does not trouble me. I have worked hard and done all that could be done for the interest of the owners, more than I would have done had the cargo been all my own, the result I could not prevent.

The whole proceeds of the ship and cargo amounted to seventeen thousand four hundred and nineteen dollars but the expenses must have eaten up most of this.

The California gold fever which raged about Boston and the northern Massachusetts seacoast was mild in its symptoms and sluggish in its spread compared with the excitement on the Cape. Just as Boston was the clearing house for the northern part of the state so was New Bedford for the southern. The bark *Carib*, Captain Webb, carrying a party of whaling captains, was the third vessel to sail from Boston after the news of the discovery of gold in California was confirmed. The *Aurora*, Captain Swain, cleared from New Bedford January 2, 1849, and after that there was no vessel sailing from New Bedford or Nantucket until January 30, when the *Rialto*, Captain Luce, sailed from the former port. This lull, however, was not

from lack of interest but lack of ships. The shipyards of New Bedford and Nantucket were busy converting whaling vessels and fishing schooners into vessels fit for a California voyage. Meanwhile companies were being organized in every direction, until, at Nantucket, at least, it seemed as though no one would be left to vote at the next election. One company not able to get passage on a sailing vessel went overland and later wished they had not.

The following clippings from Nantucket and New Bedford papers give some idea of the interest and excitement south of Boston.

New Bedford Mercury, Jan. 3rd 1849. First vessel from Nantucket for California. The ship *Aurora*, Capt. Seth M. Swain, was cleared yesterday by C. G. & N. Coffin and others, for San Francisco, direct, with a cargo consisting of buildings framed ready to be put up, lumber, naval stores, provisions and sperm candles. She takes out no intoxicating liquors. The crew receive one dollar apiece for the voyage out. They and the passengers are young men and consist of our most intelligent, energetic and respectable citizens. They are mostly mechanics and go out to California in search of a less crowded field of industry, with the hope, too, of being able to gather their share of the golden harvest that has been discovered in the valley of the Sacramento. May health, happiness and prosperity attend them.

Jan. 22, 1849. Eleven vessels are now posted at this port for San Francisco, ships *Magnolia*, *America* and *William and Henry*; barks *Dimon* and *Pleiades*; brig *Emily Bourne* and schooners *Tremont*, *Gazelle*, *Pomona*, *John Allyn* and *Horace*. Other companies are in process of organization and intend to procure vessels. The *Magnolia* will sail Feb. 1st. with Company

of 75. Among them is a clergyman, a doctor, several ladies and a large number of our young men.

The New Bedford *Mercury* states that among the vessels now fitting at that port for California, a long, low, black looking brig, the *Emily Bourne*, is evidently destined to make a sensation among the fleet, being herself as fleet as the wind, staunch and light rigged. She is to take out a company of 15 persons to conduct mining operations, and is fitted for a two years' cruise. She takes out a capital of $10,000 in specie for trading purposes.

May 16, 1849. Freador, Scranton and Smith have chartered the brig *Two Friends*, to carry a party and cargo to San Francisco. So great was the anxiety of emigrants to obtain passage, that all the tickets, about 100, were taken in three hours after the books were opened. In the cabin, which will hold about 30, the passage is $350; in the other departments $250. As an instance of the demand for vessels, this one may be taken as an average — $35,000 being paid for the charter, a price three times as great as the value of the vessel.

The vessels mentioned in the clippings from Nantucket and New Bedford papers were not all company vessels but included some carrying only passengers and freight. The first vessel to carry a regularly organized company from New Bedford was the schooner *Rialto*. The company was raised by Captain Warren Luce and consisted of Vineyard men. The *Rialto* was a vessel of seventy-nine tons, considered fast, staunch and well equipped. Charles Downs was appointed captain and January 30 or February 7 — both dates are given — she sailed from New Bedford with a mixed cargo and a deck load of lumber. On the edge of the gulf stream a violent gale washed off the deck load of

lumber but did no other damage. She put into St. Catherine's and was quarantined for a week. The *Rialto* passed through the Strait of Magellan without detention and arrived at San Francisco July 3, 1849, having made a good passage of one hundred and fifty days. After arrival the company started a store and held together longer than most others and are said to have divided up twenty-two hundred dollars each. The *Rialto* made one voyage to Peru and return for the company and was then sold to San Francisco parties for a pilot boat.[1]

April 2, 1849, three vessels sailed from New Bedford about the same time, the ship *America*, carrying the Belle Company, the Granite State Company, the New Bedford and Sacramento Company, and the New Bedford and Fairhaven Company; the ship *Mayflower* carrying the New Bedford and California Joint Stock Mining Company, and the ship *Obed Mitchell*, carrying the Kennebec Mining Company. There was much rivalry and some betting between the members of the different companies on the results of the long voyage to San Francisco. The *America* was sharp for a full built ship, had quite a reputation as a fast sailer and was a favorite in the betting. The *Obed Mitchell* could hardly expect to rival the *America* in speed but it was a long run to California and chance might favor her. The *Mayflower* was a veteran, thirty-nine years old and officered by men who knew the sea as few ship's officers did. She carried no hired crew, the company acting in that capacity. The ship's officers were as follows:

[1] The Rialto Company mined one week and then broke up. Captain Downs returned to New Bedford shortly after arrival in California on account of ill health.

Captain George S. Randell of New Bedford, master; Captain Reuben Hicks of Westport, mate; Captain Joshua Grinnell of Fairhaven, 2d mate; Captain Charles Ball of Westport, 3d mate; Captain William B. Hicks of Westport, 4th mate. There were other shipmasters aboard and many of the crew had done duty on whaling vessels, so that there was no lack of marine talent on the ship; indeed, there were so many that "'lowed as haow they knew a thing or two," that commanding the ship was no easy job. After the *Mayflower* had been two weeks at sea they sighted a vessel which proved to be the *Obed Mitchell* and passed her. Three weeks later they sighted her again and once more took the lead.[1] They were nearly a month off Cape Horn and experienced a terrible gale, during which Captain Randell received injuries from which he soon after died and Captain Merrihew was severely hurt. The mate, Captain Reuben Hicks, succeeded Captain Randell. Two weeks before they reached California they passed the three-masted schooner *Tremont* which sailed from New Bedford six weeks before them. They made the passage to San Francisco in one hundred and sixty-five days, beating both the *America* and the *Obed Mitchell*.

The New Bedford and California Mining Company on the *Mayflower* numbered sixty-five with a capital of fifty thousand dollars. When the vessel was fitted out and provisioned it was found necessary to lay a heavy assess-

[1] May 2 Captain Randell wrote a letter at sea, put on board a passing vessel. "Richard is himself again. I am on my own element. I like the ship very much. She is a bonny boat, and will bear canvas better than any ship I have sailed in. We have made 183 knots in 24 hours, steering by the wind. I love to sit and watch her and have done so 13 hours out of the 24."

ment in addition to the money paid in. The *Mayflower*, for some obscure reason, was armed with several heavy cannon to repel pirates. She carried a mixed cargo and in addition a steamer, named *Lawrence*, which had been running between Lowell and Lawrence on the Merrimack and drew only three feet of water. She cost six thousand dollars and proved a profitable venture to the company, but a year or so later, on the day of the celebration of the admission of California as a state, the *Sagamore*, formerly the *Merrimack*, burst her boiler at the wharf and killed and wounded fifty persons. When the company dissolved each member received back his assessment, his cost of transportation and two hundred and fifty dollars in cash. The *Mayflower* was sold to California parties who stripped and beached her and she was afterwards used as a hotel.

The first mention of a company sailing from Nantucket is March 7, 1849, when fifty young men left the island on the schooner *Hamilton* for New Bedford to sail on the bark *Russell*. Three days later the *Henry Astor* sailed with fifty-three in the company. April 18 the bark *Chase* cleared with a company for whaling, trading, and mining. July 1 the Mechanical Trading and Mining Company sailed on the brig *Joseph Butler* and the 6th of the same month the ship *Sarah Parker* carried out two companies. July 26 the ship *Japan* sailed with a company of twenty-five and from August 1, 1849, to January 1, 1850, there sailed from the island the schooners *Two Brothers* and *Mary and Emma*, and the ships *Martha*, *Manchester*, and *Citizen*, all probably carrying companies to California. Quite a number of Nantucket adventurers also sailed from ports outside the island. One company sailed from New

York on the ship *Philena* and some from Boston and other ports. By October 19 one-quarter of the voting population of Nantucket had left for the mines, and by January 1, 1850, five hundred and ninety-two had sailed for California. Other towns south of Boston did almost as well. Falmouth sent one company of twenty-five. Two companies went from Fairhaven on the ships *Friendship* and *William and Henry*; one from Taunton, the Taunton Washington Trading and Mining Company. Many Taunton and Dighton men also went on Rhode Island vessels. Mattapoisett and Bridgewater sent one company and Cohasset and Hingham men sailed on vessels from Boston. The Hyannis Gold Company took out many Barnstable men and the Dukes County and Edgartown Company took many from that neighborhood. By January 11, 1849, one-fifth of its voting population had left Plymouth and many more followed.

The Plymouth Mining and Trading Company sailed from Plymouth March 18, 1849, on the bark *Yeoman*, James M. Clark, master. The first three weeks they had head winds and then were becalmed for some days. Soon after leaving Plymouth they found the ship bread not properly cooked and the pork in poor condition. Off the Falklands a severe gale compelled them to lie to under main spencer only. They were driven as far south as 58° but the *Yeoman* was a fine sea boat and they doubled Cape Horn July 4 in pleasant weather. They celebrated the day in the usual manner. They stopped at Talcahuana eight days for water and provisions; threw overboard one hundred and fifty barrels of moldy bread, and took on thirty sacks of Chilian flour. The voyage as

a whole was a pleasant one; there was no sickness aboard and they had plenty of books to read and good music. They reached San Francisco October 2, one hundred and ninety-eight days from Plymouth. Alfred Doten of the party writes home: "All the other companies have broken up but we mean to stick together. We go up the river to-morrow and shall leave the *Yeoman* at Stockton."

A letter from one of the members of the Plymouth and California Mining Company which sailed from Boston on the *Attila*, dated Stockton, August 20, says: "The Co. has broken up and we have sold the vessel and cargo. We shall divide about three hundred dollars apiece. We are going to the mines in parties of four."

Truly south of Boston did its share.

Chapter V

SAN FRANCISCO AND THE GOLD FIELDS

Serene, indifferent of fate,
Thou sittest at the Western Gate.

In the summer of 1849 several hundred vessels belonging to divers nations lay in the harbor of San Francisco, some at anchor, some aground, and all unable to ship a crew. Many of these were old, of little value, and never went to sea again, being utilized as store and boarding houses; and some were dragged ashore and converted into hotels and tenements. The harbor in which they lay, one of the most beautiful in the world, like the Golden Horn at Constantinople, is approached through a narrow strait. Ships bound for San Francisco sight the Farallon Islands and then steer northeast and after a run of twelve miles open up the bay. The entrance to the harbor is about two and a half miles wide, narrowing to three-quarters at the Gate. The currents are very strong in the harbor and the fogs frequent and dense, as many vessels entering and leaving have found to their cost. The clipper ships *Noonday*, *Flying Dragon*, *Dashing Wave*, *Carrier Pigeon*, and *San Francisco*, the latter on her first run, were all lost after a successful voyage within sight of San Francisco.

The city of San Francisco at this time, the summer of 1849, was an unattractive collection of wooden houses and

stores, intermingled with and surrounded by thousands of tents, booths, cabins, and shacks. Its appearance seems to have justified the first letter home of a young man who came out on the *Leonore*, "Just arrived — San Francisco be damned! further particulars in my next." The streets were almost impassable in wet weather from mud, not even jackassable, as one adventurer puts it, and swept by clouds of dust in dry. A few miles from the city the country was, what it had been since its occupation by the Spaniards, a wild region where deer, elk, and half-tamed cattled roamed at will. The marshes in its vicinity were the haunts of wild ducks, geese, and birds of every species, and many hunters gained a handsome living by supplying the city with game. The population of San Francisco numbered about one thousand January 1, 1849, and five thousand at the end of the year. The Constitutional Convention in its memorial to Congress, March 18, 1850, estimates the number of persons in California January 1, 1849, as twenty-five thousand and enough immigrants during the balance of the year to make up the number to one hundred thousand. Of the one hundred thousand, twenty-two thousand were from the United States. The population of the city was a mixed one, including almost all nationalities and numbered some of the best and worst each country could produce. The South American contingent was a large one, mostly Peruvians and Chilians, and these while good miners were not very desirable citizens. Thousands of sailors, deserters from the ships in the harbor, flocked to the mines and then with characteristic levity drifted back to the city and resumed their former occupation. The worst element came from New

South Wales and Australia, "Sydney Ducks," as they were called, escaped convicts and ticket of leave men. That portion of the city bounded by Montgomery, Kearney, Broadway, and Pacific Streets, was the bad quarter of San Francisco, full of low resorts and dangerous at night. There was a Little Chili, Little China, and Little Italy.

Outside the city, stretching along the seacoast, was what was named Happy Valley, called by some a damp, unhealthy spot and by others a beautiful bit of nature. Happy Valley was a town by itself. Since it was built on United States land near the sea, its occupants paid no rent, had no title to the land they built on, and of course made no permanent improvements. The fluctuating population at one time numbered nearly three thousand people, comprising all nationalities and every station in life. The buildings were shacks made of old dry goods boxes and refuse lumber but these makeshift houses were far outnumbered by the tents, some of them of considerable size. These tents were in some cases brought from the East but were more often made of canvas taken from abandoned ships laid up in the harbor of San Francisco. The more pretentious of these tents hoisted the flag of their country and were occupied by companies of adventurers with the name of the company lettered on the front. Happy Valley was a sort of caravansary, inhabited only by the poor or economical, and even these regarded it as a temporary dwelling place to be abandoned as soon as they had made arrangements either to go to the mines or return home. Although it was a species of no man's land, it was more orderly than the city and much more interesting. There

was much drinking and little drunkenness. Having no law except lynch law, there were few crimes against life and property. Here you could see ministers serving a company as cook, and lawyers from the East peddling a wheelbarrow of fish. The latchstring of every tent was out and a warm welcome greeted every caller. Many of the occupants were old college men; at night the banjos were strumming, and singing and dancing served to cheer up the unfortunate and amuse the more optimistic. One of the company going out on the *Sweden* writes: "Happy Valley, June 10, '49. We are camped in a lovely spot a mile from San Francisco, one of the prettiest places you can imagine. We arrived last Friday and have beaten the whole fleet that sailed about the same time. The pilot boat from N. Bedford sailed ten days before us and arrived ten days later. The *Saltillo* and the Beverly craft *Sterling* have not arrived. You can make $20 a day at the mines but few can stand it. Here you can do well at any trade but it will cost you ten dollars a day to live in the city, now I live here for one dollar a day and live well. I often laugh at the change in my style of living, but it is pleasant I assure you. I get up early, cook my steak, toast my bread and make my coffee with the birds singing sweetly and all around beautiful flowers growing wild and that only a mile from the city." One of the Old Harvard Company that came out on the *Duxbury* also writes of Happy Valley: "The day after we arrived we pitched our tent in Happy Valley on U. S. ground. It would have made you laugh to look at us. Our tent is 22 feet square. We have a flag flying from the top and in large letters, painted by Mr. Thayer, on the front, is the name of our Company, Old Harvard, Cam-

bridge. The *Edward Everett* has broken up, in fact all the companies break up and we shall follow suit. Keeping together for protection is a humbug. Half of the men do not carry any weapons at the diggins."

In the city of San Francisco itself, although as one gentleman puts it every second house was a gambling hell and every second man a doctor, there was still an opportunity given for religious instruction, and amusement not immoral in its nature, for those so inclined. By August 1, 1849, San Francisco had five churches: Episcopal, Catholic, Baptist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian, and by January 1, 1850, had seven newspapers, two reading rooms, an athenaeum, a dramatic museum, a bull ring, Rowe's Olympic Circus, and one more church. It is not stated how many liquor or gambling saloons there were. It had many hotels, of which the Parker House, built and owned by Robert Parker of Boston, was considered the best. It was a two-story wooden building about sixty feet long, boarded on the outside and ceiled within with cotton cloth covered with paper hangings. It had two large rooms, one for dining and one for billiards, and three other rooms on the ground floor devoted to gambling and the sale of liquor. The rooms upstairs were let for offices and lodgings. It was well furnished and leased for seventy-five thousand dollars. The opening of the Parker House was a great event in San Francisco and we copy a few lines from the account in the *Alta California.*

"The ballroom, the most magnificent and spacious in the country, was graced by the loveliness of many lands. The staid matrons and quiet maidens of our own Atlantic States, the gay daughters of Erin, the gazelle eyed maidens

of Alta California, mingled with the gay uniforms of the army and navy, shone conspicuously in the brilliantly lighted room. Not until the early finger of morn had dispersed the purple mantle of night did the votaries of Terpsichore return home."

The cost of doing business in San Francisco was enormous. One gentleman writing home estimates expense as follows: rent of stand, four hundred to eight hundred dollars a month; board, lodging, and washing—very moderate—one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month; clerk—three hundred dollars a month; cartage of goods across the city, more than the cost of transportation from Boston; to send goods, as to the mines, one dollar a pound; expense of unloading about the same as the freight from Boston. Of course to stand these expenses the prices and profits had to be enormous too, but the great drawback to a business man was the great fluctuation in prices. No one could foresee a market or await a market. The cost of storage forbade the latter and the arrival of one or two ships rendered any foresight worthless. There was no use in offering bargains in San Francisco; there were few women there to be tempted and the miners would pay any price for what they wanted at the moment but no reduction would tempt them to buy what they might want tomorrow. A pineapple might sell for ten dollars one day and fifty cents the next. The market alternated between plethora and scarcity. Besides the cost of storage, the danger of fire and the absence of insurance made any attempt to keep a large stock of goods on hand dangerous. There was no fire department, most of the buildings were of wood, and the water was drawn from wells. There was

no telegraph, and shippers could only guess at what was needed. Having only a general idea of the necessities of the country many shipments were doomed to failure from the start. Patent cradles, invented by men who were not practical miners, cooking stoves in a country where they were never used, spades and saddles of a pattern not liked, razors in a country where men rarely shaved, five thousand lady's hats and three thousand pieces of calico—one shipment—to a city where there were few women; these, and a multitude of things of which there was already a surplus, were promptly dumped and left at the disposal of the passer-by.

There was a famous sidewalk in San Francisco on the west side of Montgomery Street, between Clay and Jackson Streets,[1] composed of one hundred pound bags of Chilian flour, a long line of cooking stoves, a damaged piano which bridged a gully, and ending in a double row of boxes of shoes. It was estimated that the stock of chewing tobacco in San Francisco in 1850 was sufficient to supply every inhabitant of the city for sixty-five years. Of boots and shoes there were fifty pairs for each person. There was enough cloth so that if every man in the city was a tailor and worked for one year making clothes there would still have remained a surplus. Six great fires in the first eighteen months' life of the city served to reduce this surplus.

There were no law courts in San Francisco prior to 1850 and to a certain extent every man did what seemed right in his own eyes, but there was a limit beyond which it was not safe to go. A gentleman who went out on the *Lanerk*

[1] Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California.

writes home, "I expected to turn my attention to either the ministry or law, but there is neither law nor gospel here and yet it is most orderly." Taken as a whole life and property were fairly safe but crimes against property were much more severely dealt with than those against life. After the United States had taken possession of California the Mexican office of alcalde was continued throughout the province and Mr. Bartlett acted as such until February 22, 1847, when he was succeeded by Edwin Bryant, who was appointed by General Kearney, the military governor. June 1, 1847, Mr. Bryant was succeeded by Mr. Hyde and a little later T. M. Leavenworth was appointed second alcalde to assist Mr. Hyde. By 1849 the district of San Francisco had a so-called Legislative Assembly and March 22 they passed a bill abolishing the office of alcalde and appointing Myron Norton police magistrate of the town. The powers of a police magistrate or alcalde were never clearly defined and at first they claimed unlimited jurisdiction over civil, criminal, and spiritual matters. Sometime during 1849, the Town Council of San Francisco was formed, and August 6 J. W. Geary was elected first alcalde, Frank Turk second alcalde, and Horace Hawes prefect. The Town Council at first consisted of six, later twelve, members. The Legislative Assembly had become very unpopular and the election of Mr. Geary was in response to a proclamation of Governor Ripley calling on all citizens to discountenance the proceedings of the Assembly and proceed to a new election.

There was in San Francisco, in 1849, a society called the Hounds originally formed for mutual protection but which soon became an offensive rather than a defensive

organization. Many of its members came from a disbanded New York regiment and almost all were American citizens. Their place of resort was a large tent at the corner of Clay and Kearney Streets, called Tammany Hall, and a low tavern called the Shades. For some reason, perhaps because they were poor and helpless, the Hounds began to rob and abuse the South Americans living in a quarter of the city called Little Chili. The Peruvians and the Chilians were as a class hard working and successful miners, and, except for a disposition to settle quarrels with the knife, usually inoffensive. The Hounds, at first unchecked in their course, gradually became more lawless and on Sunday, July 15, 1849, attacked the Spanish quarters, using revolvers freely, and wrecking and looting many shops. A committee of the citizens of San Francisco met next day and deciding that this had gone far enough arrested twenty of the Hounds and placed them on board the United States ship *Warren*, then lying in the harbor. A jury of twenty-four citizens was selected who found Samuel Roberts, the leader, and Theodore Saunders, his lieutenant, guilty and sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment. There was no prison and the sentence was illegal, but the desired object was obtained as the men left the country.

In the spring of 1850, a city government was organized and Mr. J. W. Geary, then serving as alcalde, was chosen mayor. At the same time courts were established and judges appointed, but the administration of the law was so inefficient and corrupt that up to June 1, 1851, one hundred murders had taken place and not one conviction. The citizens then took the matter in their own hands and

formed a Vigilance Committee, consisting of two hundred of their best men, "For the protection of the laws and property of the citizens of San Francisco." This was all done openly and the names of the members of the committee inscribed in a book. Their headquarters were on Battery Street and a tap on the bell of the Monumental engine house was the signal to meet. Immediately after the formation of the committee many "Sydney Ducks" and gamblers left the city. June 11 the committee tried, condemned, and executed a well-known desperado named James Stuart and August 14 two more bad men were hanged. September 16 the committee suspended active work but retained their organization. At a later period it was found necessary to hang several other criminals, two of them, Whittaker and McKenzie, in front of the committee rooms on Battery Street and one, John Jenkins, in the plaza. There was an old one-story building on the plaza, called from its construction, the "Adobe Building," used as a custom-house in '49 and dating back to the time when San Francisco was called Yerba Buena. From one corner of this building the rope was suspended which ended the career of John Jenkins. A coroner's inquest was held next day and the jury rendered a verdict, "That John Jenkins, alias Simpton, came to his death by violent means. By strangulation caused by being suspended by the neck with a rope attached to the end of the Adobe building on the Plaza at the hands of and in pursuance of a preconcerted action on the part of an Association of citizens styling themselves a 'Committee of Vigilance' of whom the following members are implicated." Then came a list of the active members in the affair. The committee replied by

publishing the whole list of members and assuming full responsibility.

July 5, 1851, the Vigilance Committee issued this proclamation:

It having become necessary to the peace and quiet of this community that all criminals and abettors of crime should be driven from among us, no good citizen having the welfare of San Francisco at heart will deny the Committee of Vigilance such information as will enable them to carry out the above object. Nor will they interfere with said Committee when they deem it best to search any premises for suspicious characters or stolen proprety. Resolved — that we, the Vigilance Com. do claim to ourselves the right to enter any person's premises where we have good reason to believe that we shall find evidence to substantiate and carry out the object of this body. And further deeming ourselves engaged in a good and just cause we intend to maintain it.

By order of Com. of Vig.

No. 69 Sec'y.

That the Committee of Vigilance was engaged in a "good and just" cause and that it used its illegal powers wisely and well, few will deny, but there were many in the city, including most of the legal fraternity, who believed a remedy should be sought through the law and not outside the law and resented the inquisitorial powers which the committee claimed. The southern element, also, at this time influential in the city, considered personal encounter as a legitimate way of settling private differences and knew that this phase of California life was one the committee was determined to stamp out, so that there were many citizens of San Francisco opposed to the self-as-

sumed and autocratic powers of the Committee of Vigilance. No better evidence of the power of this committee for good or evil can be given than an account of the mutiny on the *Challenge* and the subsequent riot in San Francisco.

The ship *Challenge* had sailed from New York, July 12, 1851, with an unusually hard crew. On the passage out there was a mutiny and later according to Captain Robert Waterman, who commanded her, three men fell from the mast and were killed and four more died of dysentery. On the arrival of the *Challenge* at San Francisco, before the vessel pulled in to the wharf, some of the sailors escaped ashore and spread such exaggerated accounts of the occurrences on the vessel that a mob of sailors, boatmen, and longshoremen gathered at the pier with the avowed purpose of lynching Captain Waterman and his mate, Douglas. Both these gentlemen left the ship before she gained the wharf, being warned of the threatened danger. Alsop and Company, the agents of the *Challenge*, sent Captain Land to take charge of the vessel and he narrowly escaped lynching. The morning after the escape of Captain Waterman the mob assembled again at the wharf where the *Challenge* lay and the sight of disabled seamen, bearing marks of the supposed treatment aboard, on their way to the hospital, served to increase the excitement. Though Captain Land could in no sense be held responsible for what occurred on board the *Challenge*, yet, as his letters show, he narrowly escaped lynching and the mob, now two thousand strong, marched up Montgomery Street with the purpose of burning the Alsop building and then returning to scuttle

the *Challenge*. On their arrival at the office of Alsop and Company they demanded and were granted leave to search the building for Captain Waterman, but of course no trace of him could be found.

The mayor appeared and attempted to address the crowd but was received with groans and hisses and, as the mob was now working itself into a very dangerous state of mind and the police were powerless, the only recourse left was an appeal to the Vigilance Committee. This body, necessarily illegal in its nature, was disapproved of by many of the citizens as tending to perpetuate many of the evils it had been formed to avert, but for over a year it had waged relentless war against murderers, blacklegs, and thieves and done much to purify the city. As a civil magistrate, the mayor felt that he could not recognize the committee, which he had once characterized as a band of outlaws; so he appealed to its members as individuals, to help him preserve order. The committee, anticipating trouble, had been for some hours assembled in their rooms, but had waited to see what action the mayor would take, not sorry, perhaps, to show how helpless he was. So far as Captain Waterman was concerned they saw no cause to interfere; his guilt or innocence was a matter for the courts to decide but they had no intention of turning San Francisco over to a mob of cut-throats, gamblers, and thieves, few of whom would have really cared had Captain Waterman hanged his whole crew at the yardarm. The Vigilance Committee, therefore, ignoring the subterfuge of the mayor, rang their tocsin bell, formed column and marched into the street, and the mob, which had laughed at the

mayor and defied the police, melted away at their approach.

One feature of San Francisco life, and this was true of other California cities, was the auctions. Every day on the plaza, household furniture, miners' supplies, wearing apparel, and especially paper house lots were offered to the highest bidder. There were at this time some twenty cities in California with streets all plotted and named, many of which had only fifteen or twenty houses and the house lots in which had little value, real or prospective. These paper house lots as they were called were sold over and over again and served as counters in a gambling game. No one expected to keep the lots but hoped to sell them again at a higher price. Frequently men would exchange prospects or mining claims which might or might not exist for house lots in a town of which they never before had heard the name. These auctions, however, did afford those going to the mines opportunity to procure supplies at bargain prices.

In '49 the arrival of a vessel from our eastern states was a great event in San Francisco and hundreds hurried to the landing place, hoping to meet old friends or at any rate to get eastern papers and receive news of home. It is said that in the early summer of '49 one of the first questions asked the new arrivals was "Who won the fight, Tom Hyer or Yankee Sullivan?" A gentleman who went out on the *Leonore* perpetrated the following verses.

The ocean voyage all over,
Our many troubles past,
With anchor down, before the town,
We launched our boat at last.

Through many anchored vessels,
Disabled, helpless ships,
We pulled our course, with utmost force,
To gain the city slips.

Then as the wharf grew nearer,
We saw a countless throng,
A thousand eager faces,
We heard their greeting song.

We knew they longed to meet us,
To hear the news from home
Of fathers, mothers, sisters
They'd left, so far to roam.

The girl they'd left behind them,
We could almost hear their sighs,
And soon as we drew nearer
Could see their pleading eyes.

And now their greeting voices
Across the sea rang clear,
Who won the fight, who won the fight?
I'll bet it was Tom Hyer.

No! Yankee Sullivan's the boy,
Another crowd would cry,
How many rounds, how many rounds?
He'd lick his man or die.

Who won the fight I did not know,
Or even give a damn,
But sure their love for friend and home,
Was nothing but a sham.

The arrival of the mail steamer was a gala day in the city. Long before the mail could be distributed a long line of waiters stretched far down the street from the post office, patiently waiting their turn at the window though

it might not come for five or six hours. Ten dollars for a place near the box office was readily given. It is not strange that news from home was so eagerly waited for, for in San Francisco at this time there were no homes. Men had not yet begun to bring out their wives and outside of women of doubtful reputation there was no female society. This naturally led to carelessness of attire and manners. Almost the only men in San Francisco who were neatly dressed were the ministers and the gamblers. Men used their rooms merely as sleeping quarters and made their appointments for business or pleasure at the Parker House or El Dorado gambling rooms. None of our New England adventurers liked San Francisco, its climate, morals or general appearance. One gentleman calls it a place not fit for man or beast. Another writes home, "Outside of hell it is the dirtiest, meanest city in the world." To men brought up in the rigid Puritanical New England faith of that day, the non-observance of the Lord's day and the open gambling and drinking which went on everywhere seemed shocking and horrible. Apparently many of the adventurers going out in company vessels had expected to find San Francisco a semi-tropical city and when they found that an overcoat and mittens were not uncomfortable in July and that a cold wind from the northwest blew every day from nine A.M. to ten P.M. they were surprised and disappointed. A Haverhill gentleman on the *Leonore* writes home:

On the morning of the 5th. of July you find us off San Francisco bay and running in under the booming of cannon. We anchored opposite the Italy of America about nine-o-clock in the morning. We all made our appearance on deck in dark

pants, red shirts, belts and knives, but the Italy of America was so cold that we were obliged to go below and put on thick drawers and all our woolen clothing. This does not turn out to be much of a town, having few wooden buildings in it, most of the people being Israelites and dwelling in tents.

Captain Baker of the San Francisco Company gives his opinion of the city as follows:

A beautiful country, romantic scenery, an excellent harbor, a fine climate and plenty of game. This is the place for me, thinks I, as I came on deck and looked around the morning after we anchored. . . . It's the most degraded, immoral, uncivilized and dirty city that can be imagined and the sooner we are away from here the better for us, were my afterthoughts five minutes after being landed on shore. 'Twas the latter part of the rainy season and after a long pull from the vessel against a strong tide and passing vessels of all descriptions and of every nation, English, French, Hamburg, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Russians and American, some ashore, some aground, sunk or capsized, some hauled up with notices such as "Storage," "Lumber for sale," "Boarding and Lodging" &c. &c. in large capitals staring us in the face, we approached the landing. And that landing was a curious place too. After having forced our boat through a fleet of others which lay alongside a sort of pier, we mounted a flight of steps and found ourselves in the interior of a hotel—hot hell if you choose—a wooden building, perhaps thirty or forty feet square, boarded on the outside and inside ceiled with cotton cloth and except overhead papered with fancy hangings. There was a door at each end and a complete thoroughfare. On one side was a bar, on the other a table, a man, a pack of cards and a heap of dollars and doubloons. The latter lay piled up offering a grand chance of making a splendid fortune in a few minutes—for somebody else than yourself if you

had plenty of money to hazard. The fact is I was in a gambling house and grog shop as soon as I touched the shore but as I had not a particle of money I was safe enough and passed through merely taking an observation. We then emerged into a bed of mud anywhere from ankle deep to off soundings, up hill too, at that. I put my trowsers inside my boots and got along bravely but as I was for sight seeing soon halted to reconnoitre. Attracted by music I entered another building with Exchange Office on the door. More drinking, more gold and more gambling, roulette tables, dice and cards with every chance to exchange your gold and silver for nothing. Came out on the piazza and looked around. Plenty of business on a small scale, sundry peddlers of knives, trinkets and clothing with their arms filled with their wares and their feet deep in the mud. I was much amused at the sight of a Restorator opposite with its attractive signs, hot coffee, cakes, &c. It consisted of a two wheeled old fashioned covered wagon, backed to the verge of a hill and there stuck in the mud. Between the shafts stood a man with his bed, bedding, W. I. goods and all his little wares behind him on the wagon and in front a table formed by the shafts placed on a couple of boxes with boards across on which were his attractive viands, bread and butter, buns, cakes and other things. He had a fluent tongue and considerable custom. Crossing the narrow street I looked into another bar room, well furnished with maple chairs, sofa and table, and covered of course with no small quantity of mud. Behind the bar was a lady? the first I had seen, dispensing the liquor to various customers and taking the quarters fast. Farther up in the city things were much the same but on a larger scale; larger houses, larger bar rooms and larger fields of mud. I then came to a large square with a liberty pole in the centre, around which and underneath the American flag which was flying at the top, was gathered a crowd of people of all nations bidding for house lots

or anything offered by the auctioneer. The city is laid out in squares and from the highest hills makes a splendid appearance, as not only are there many fine buildings which show up well at a distance but also hundreds of tents of every description and color. A beautiful view of the bay may here be taken, the entrance to the harbor at the westward and the bay of San Pablo to the north, while directly beneath lie the crowds of shipping, showing the flags of all nations, a miniature forest, boats pulling here and there, steamers running to and fro and all the appearances of an Eastern city. Such is San Francisco now — what it formerly has been, what it was a year since — we all know, what it eventually will be remains to be seen.

Although the first impressions of San Francisco were not favorable, many of those who decried it, came to love it and make it their home. After the terrible life at the mines and the chills and fever of the Sacramento Valley, after working in a temperature of one hundred and twenty degrees in the shade in summer and standing for hours in ice-cold water in winter, the returning miner found San Francisco an earthly paradise. The cool winds so invigorating to his debilitated constitution, the good food for anyone who could pay for it, the gray headlands which guarded the bay, the crowded harbor, the roll of the surf on the long beach, the green hills dotted with flowers of every hue, and the bustle and excitement of the city, made San Francisco a very different place from what he had first thought it. The city too offered an excellent chance for any young man to engage in business, especially if he had a small capital, or he could take a position as clerk or bookkeeper at a salary which in the East would have been considered princely. Henry Sweetser of Newburyport on

his return from an unsuccessful prospecting expedition writes: "Have been here in Frisco two weeks and have made four hundred dollars by trading. Rufus Rand, Alonzo and I opened an eating house in a small tent and in one week shared one hundred and thirty dollars each. Yesterday we sold out for two hundred dollars bonus and shall open a place in the heart of the city. There are about twenty from Newburyport down with fever and ague." A young man who came out on the *Leonore* was offered on arrival three hundred dollars a month and board to take charge of a shoe shop, "But," he writes, "of course I refused it." Another Boston lad writes his sister, "I can get a position in San Francisco that will give me four thousand dollars a year but at the mines I can probably make enough money in two years to keep us in comfort the rest of our lives." One of the Old Harvard Company — which pitched its tent in Happy Valley — bought a boat for seventy dollars and carried passengers from the ships in the harbor to the city at ten dollars a trip, making sixty dollars a day, while his living expenses for the same time amounted to two. For a man who was frugal and industrious San Francisco was the real gold mine. To most of the newcomers, however, San Francisco was a city of passage, a place to buy supplies for the mines or to spend money in after a successful campaign, and Sacramento was the real Mecca.

To reach the Golden City it was necessary to ascend the Sacramento River, and at its mouth was situated the city of Benecia. The harbor of San Francisco in the summer of '49 was not liked by the United States naval officers or the shipping merchants of the East, and a strong

effort was made to make Benecia the rival of that city or, as some expressed it, the New York of the Pacific. Benecia was situated about forty miles up the bay in the Strait of Carquinez between the bays of San Pablo and Suisun. It really offered many advantages. There was eighteen feet of water at the bank and a harbor capable of holding twice the number of vessels San Francisco could accommodate. It was less exposed to winds and easier to navigate, and the land about it was better fitted for a great city than San Francisco. It was at Benecia that General Smith established his headquarters as commander of the United States Army and Commodore Jones his naval station. Howland and Aspinwall, as agents for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, for a time made it their headquarters and many eastern merchants cleared their vessels for Benecia. The underwriters, merchants, and shippers of Boston, including fifteen presidents of insurance companies in the state, sent a memorial to Congress, calling attention to the fact that ships cleared for Benecia were compelled to anchor in San Francisco harbor to enter at the custom-house and that this meant a loss of three days, during which the crew was apt to desert, and asking that Benecia be made a port of entry. Commodore Jones also wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that he did not like to risk his battleship *Ohio* amid the rocks, sands, and currents of San Francisco harbor, while at Benecia the channel was thirty feet deep at low tide. Despite its natural advantages Benecia was not destined to rival San Francisco, and except for the naval station and hospital remained a paper city. A little later W. F. Fauntleroy of the United States Navy writes Colonel Stevenson concerning the New York

of the Pacific, a little paper city farther up the river: "Dear Sir, I have taken the ship *Sabina* with cargo, 16 feet draft, to this place, 48 miles, and not less than four and a half fathoms during the run. I could take the largest merchant ship from this place to sea. Excellent anchorage for five times the number of vessels at San Francisco." It was of no use; San Francisco had the start and remained, what she is today, the queen port of America on the Pacific side.

Chapter VI

SAN FRANCISCO AND THE GOLD FIELDS

(*continued*)

Once more on Hangtown's hills we delve,
On Murderer's Bar we mine,
At Nigger's Tent and Boston Jim's,
You Bet, Red Dog, Port Wine.

On Poker Flat and Poor Man's Shack,
Once more our luck we try,
Where nuggets once were found as thick
As planets in the sky.

Although gold was washed from the river beds in California as early as 1842, it was only after its discovery by James W. Marshall that the true richness of the California gold deposits was recognized by the public. Mr. Marshall was the partner of John Augustus Sutter, a Swiss soldier of fortune, who served as lieutenant in the French Army during the reign of Charles X. After the revolution of 1830, the regiment to which he was attached was disbanded and he came to this country. After spending several years in different pursuits and several states, he drifted to California, then under Mexican rule. In 1839 he was located at what he called New Helvetia, generally known as Sutter's Fort, on the south bank of the American River, about one mile from the Sacramento. Although without much means he obtained from the Mexican government a large grant of land and built a fort of adobe

BARK *FLORIDA*

brick, five hundred feet long and one hundred and fifty feet wide, with walls eighteen feet high, armed with a few small cannon. He received a semi-military commission from the Mexican government and by 1849 was raising some twenty thousand bushels of wheat and had twelve thousand cattle and fifteen thousand sheep grazing on his ranch. There were no facilities in the neighborhood for sawing lumber and in 1848 he decided to build a sawmill and engaged James Marshall, who had come to California from New Jersey in 1844, to build him one at Colona on the South Fork of the American River. January 19, 1848, Mr. Marshall discovered in the raceway of the mill some lumps of what proved to be gold and further investigation showed that gold existed in considerable quantities in the bed of the stream. There were two papers published in California at this time and March 15, 1848, news of the discovery was announced in the *California* and the gold fever was on.

The gold fields as known from '49 to '50 comprised the valley of the Sacramento and its tributaries, the American, Feather, and San Juan Rivers, the country lying between the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Coast Range, covering some seven thousand square miles. The diggings were both wet and dry, the latter on high ground where water could not be easily obtained. A would-be miner starting from San Francisco provided himself with a cradle, pick, crowbar, shovel, frying pan, and a pack of provisions consisting of flour, pork, beans, and condiments; and then either took passage for Sacramento on some boat or packed his stores on an ox-drawn wagon and made the journey on foot. On his arrival at Sacramento the miner still found himself from sixty to one hundred and fifty miles distant

from the mining fields and had to make his way to them on foot, carrying his pack on his back or on a mule, as his means allowed. Most of the diggings were wet and the gold was extracted by a rude rocker or cradle, often made on the spot. Mr. Joseph S. Wallis of the Naumkeag Company of Salem, writing from the Yuba, gives the following account of gold mining in that region.

The principal river in California is the Sacramento and all the other rivers on the coast side empty into it. During the rainy season these streams are not fordable but many are dry in summer. To search for gold, follow a stream and when you come to a bend which forms a bar composed of stones, should there be a ravine near you may expect gold. Soil should be red and loamy. Remove the stones from a piece of ground four feet by six, then clear off the loose soil and clay until you come to hard clay bottom. Take out a pan of this and wash it and if you get twenty-five cents worth of gold try another pan from the centre of the bar and if this gives you more than twenty-five cents, say fifty, go to work. If not, quit. These bars are sometimes a quarter of a mile long and usually 400 to 1000 feet. The gold is usually dust or if larger like small beans. Take a pick-axe and loosen the soil and then shovel the earth into a sack holding about a peck and a half and carry it down to the cradle. One sack full is washed at a time and takes about five minutes. The cradle is about five or six feet long, 18 inches wide at the top and made in a semicircular form so that the bottom is round. On top of the cradle is placed a riddle. The head end of the machine is tight and the forward end open. The machine is about five inches deep, the bottom of sheet iron pierced with holes 3/8 of an inch in diameter and one inch apart. This fits into the machine an inch from the upper edge to keep it in place while the cradle is in motion. Directly under this is a shelf about three inches from

the lower side, of the same dimensions as the riddle, laid so as to form an inclined plane, the end at the head of the machine being lowest. On the bottom of the cradle is a rib an inch square to prevent the gold from washing out. The machine sits on two rockers and is put in motion by handles attached to one side. In order to work this to advantage six men are required, one to run it, one to throw water, one to fill the sack and two to pick and scratch the gravel. Every man is allowed 30 feet front running as far back as he chooses.

The Mexicans from Sonora, who formed quite a large colony, used in the dry diggings a method of separating the gold dust from the sand which the Americans were never able to imitate. The gold-bearing sand was put into large wooden bowls and by a dextrous movement thrown up some four feet in the air; as it descended the Mexicans blew violently, removing part of the sand and allowing the gold to fall back into the bowl. This was repeated until the sand was removed. Although there was no real law, custom in the dry diggings limited the claim which any one man might take to ten square yards, the original discoverer being entitled to twice that amount. Claims were marked at the corners and recorded, but after a reasonable time if no work had been done on the claim, its was open to relocation. There were no courts, legally speaking, and miner's law governed the camp. There being no secure place to keep the gold obtained, it was put into bottles, tins or bags and left exposed to possible robbery in the tent or shack in which the miner lived. Robbery, however, rarely occurred and its punishment was speedy and sure. "We lie down at night," writes Mr. Wallis, "with our goods scattered around and $3000 to $4000 in gold dust

in a valise or box. It is much safer here than it is at home."

The miners' court consisted of a general assembly of those working in the neighborhood, and trials before it were conducted with rude fairness. The death penalty was rarely inflicted, the more common punishments being whipping, fining, or banishment from camp. Occasionally for slight offences the offender was ordered to set up drinks for the crowd or compelled to work a few days for the party aggrieved. In sizable camps an alcalde was chosen who exercised much the same power as the Mexican official of that title had before the American occupation.

No better account of the trials, disappointments, hardships, and general bad fortune of most of the miners in '49 can be found than in Captain Baker's "Journal of the Proceedings of the San Francisco Company." We take up the account at Friday, January 18, 1850:

After lying at San Francisco one week, looking at the natives and hearing what little news we could pick up, we started this morning with a fine breeze and in company with a couple more vessels stood across the harbor on our way towards Sacramento City. We ran along finely for awhile but being close hauled and the tide running very strong we were obliged to anchor near Angelus Island in ten fathom water. Some of the party took advantage of this to take a boat and go on shore, hunting and exploring. After dinner we got under way again and finally reached the entrance to the Bay of San Pablo. The next day we made some progress and then were becalmed again with nothing to do but enjoy the scenery. Ranges of hills with round tops, smooth and even, covered with a beautiful velvet green, interspersed here and there with clumps of trees and at other

places gentle slopes dotted with innumerable herds of horses and cattle, while far in the distance appear mountains rough and ragged with their tops covered with snow. After dinner the tide having slackened we started again, leaving our boat, with a party of six, in under the land in search of game and with a moderate breeze ran across the bay and entered the narrow Straits of Karquinez and after rounding the point at sunset anchored near the little town of Benecia. There lay the U. S. ships, *Ohio*, *Savannah*, *Falmouth*, and *Preble*, a revenue cutter, two store ships and several merchant vessels.[1]

The next day we landed on the beach and travelled across a level plain, passing the Benecia Hospital, a respectable two storied building, on one hand and on the other a few small houses, the most conspicuous of which displayed a swinging sign in front and gloried in the name of California Hotel. Not far from there was the church, a decent school-house looking building set in a sea of mud. Crossing the hills and streams we came to the U. S. Barracks, a couple of miles from where we landed. There were some fine cottages and on the piazza of one sat some real live Yankee ladies the sight of whom well paid us for our walk. Opposite these houses and across a wide street were sundry buildings belonging to the Government, store houses, carpenter's shops and stables. The soldiers in their tents seemed happy and contented and there were herds of horses grazing around. This constituted the great city of Benecia.[2] On the opposite side of the bay the scenery is somewhat different, the hills being more rugged and covered in many

[1] Commodore Thomas Ap Jones in 1842, believing war imminent, seized Monterey and hoisted the American flag. He was recalled in consequence, court-martialled and exonerated and returned to California as commander of the Pacific fleet. He was intimately connected with the history of California from 1842 to 1850. His flagship was the 74, *Ohio*.

[2] During the boom, lots in Benecia, one hundred and fifty by one hundred feet, sold at from two hundred dollars to four thousand dollars per lot.

places with stunted trees. Large flocks of gulls, ducks and other birds frequent the inlets but are very shy. Herds of wild and half tamed cattle are seen on the hills and at night when everything is still except the rippling of the current and the striking of a bell on one of the Government vessels, the howling of the California wolf may be heard from either shore.

After lying a few days at Benecia the *San Francisco* got under way and stood across the bay of Suisun. The navigation here was very difficult owing to the numerous marshy islands and crooked channels and the down current very swift. At sundown they anchored and the next morning started again but were held up by lack of wind. They anchored opposite another mushroom city called the New York of the Pacific. A fairly large wooden hotel, called the Kennebec House, and two or three shanties constituted the city. For several days the bark proceeded in much the same way, making a few miles and then anchoring, and many of the party spent their time in pursuit of game, which was plentiful. Deer and elk could be seen from the deck and great flocks of geese and ducks were flying over the marshes. After running aground several more times they found themselves, February 1, still forty-five miles from Sacramento. However, they kept up their spirits, despite the mosquitoes, and the San Francisco Accordion Band played lively tunes and they hoped for more wind and waited. It was not until February 20 that they reached the city of Sacramento and then the wind changed and vessels made the passage in as many hours as they had taken days. The bark was moored alongside the bank and the deck load of house frames unloaded. Mr. Baker gives the following description of Sacramento:

This modern city is situated on the eastern bank of the Sacramento river, at its junction with the American fork and is the head of navigation except for small vessels which may proceed some twenty miles farther. The face of the country about is a low and level plain extending back for miles and as the banks of the river are little more elevated than the land in the rear, great devastation was experienced by the recent overflow. The city is laid out in squares; the streets, from the levee, parallel with the river bank back to and beyond the celebrated Sutter fort, are numerically named from 1 to 32, and those running parallel with the fork are named alphabetically. Large buildings are going up with mushroom rapidity and the place which only six months since showed but a few tents scattered in among brush and bushes now has the appearance of an extensive and flourishing city, superior to San Francisco.

The country is so flat that not much can be seen except the shipping along the bank, amounting at the present to 100 sail, mostly barks, brigs, schooners and an occasional steamer. There are myriads of boats and scows. The chief business of the city seems to be building, gambling and auctioneering. Real estate being very high, slender and unsubstantial tenements are run four or five stories high with blocks of wood underneath as a foundation. They are boarded on the outside and ceiled within with cotton cloth. The gambling houses are spacious and daily and nightly thronged with people anxiously endeavoring to lose their gold dust. Drunkenness and quarrelling are rare and good order generally prevails. The dust here gives the people the appearance of being millers and when not dusty it is muddy.

Arrival of the San Francisco (tune, Washing Day). Respectfully dedicated to the unfortunate Companies of California:

The San Francisco Company, of which I've often told,
At Sacramento has arrived in search of glittering gold.
The bark hauled in, the cargo out and that is not the worst,
The Company, like all the rest, has had a talk and burst.
For 'twas talk, talk, growl, growl, talk, talk away,
The devil a bit of comfort's here in Californi-a.

While on the passage all was well and every thing was nice,
And if there was a civil growl, 'twas settled in a trice,
But here example had been set by Companies before,
Who'd all dissolved and nothing less, so we did nothing more.
But talk, talk, etc.

We'd forty men of forty minds, instead of one alone,
And each wished to convert the rest but still preferred his own.
Now in some places this might do, but here it won't, you see,
For independence is the word in Californi-e.
And you may talk, talk, . . .

At first the price of lumber fell, which made it bad for us,
Some wished to sell and some did not, which made the matter worse,
Some longed to start into the mines and let the barkey stay,
While others said it wouldn't do for all to go away.
For 'twas talk, talk, . . .

Some longed to get their ounce a day, while others knew they couldn't,
And wished to share and keep all square, but then the workers wouldn't.
A meeting of the whole was called, the question put and tried,
Our constitution voted down, our by-laws null and void.
For 'twas talk, talk, . . .

Now carpenters can take a job and work for what they please,
And those who do not like to work can loaf and take their ease,
And squads can form for travelling or any thing they choose,
And if they don't a fortune make, they'll not have it to lose,
And can chat, chat, sing, sing, chat, chat away,
And take all comfort that they can in Californi-a.

Now whether it's for good or bad, since time alone can show,
The deed is done with our consent and that at least we know,

So let us all contented be and do the best we can,
And may a fortune be in store for every honest man.
Chat, chat, sing, sing, chat, chat away,
And leave for home whene'er he likes from Californi-a.

After the dissolution of the company, Captain Baker associated himself with two members of the party and proceeded up the river to try his fortune at gold washing. The tent in which they proposed to sleep was made of blue drilling and named the Hermitage. The whale boat in which the journey was to be made, besides the tent, carried a stock of provisions and mining tools, part of which they hoped to sell at a profit. After several days of hard paddling and nights spent in the tent they reached the city of Tremont at the junction of the Feather and Sacramento Rivers. On the opposite bank was the city of Vernon but neither city appeared very flourishing and they stopped only a few moments. Their course now lay up the Feather River and now sailing, now paddling, they made a good day's run, making their supper of the eggs of a wood duck whose nest they found in the bushes. The next day they reached the city of Nickolaus and stopped a few moments to see friends and hear the news, and then pushed on past the mushroom cities of Plumas and Hick's Farm, the latter the famous country seat of Captain Sutter, until they came to the city of Eliza, just beyond which they encamped for the night. The next morning they again got under way and by noon were in Yuba City.

Yuba City [writes Mr. Baker] is quite a flourishing place, situated on the Feather river opposite its junction with the Yuba. The land here is more elevated and at this season of the year the plain is covered with flowers of all colors. The city

seems to have monopolized an Indian village for part of its claim, more for the curiosity than the beauty of the thing. The houses of these diggers are merely holes in the ground across which rafters and bushes are placed, with one hole at the top for a chimney and another hole at the side for a door. Outside are large baskets, eight to ten feet in height, containing several bushels of acorns, their principal food, and here and there half naked squaws are shelling and pounding the acorns while their naked partners are sitting round waiting for their meal. Leaving this splendid city after a short pull we arrived at Marysville, our port of destination and hauled alongside the bank. The City, — there are no towns in California, — of Marysville is situated on the left bank of the Yuba about 80 miles distant from Sacramento. The land hereabouts was originally owned by a man named Nye and until recently was called Nye's Ranch. Two adobe houses built by him were the only buildings in this vicinity four months since and the inhabitants were chiefly Indians. Now the city is laid out in squares as at Sacramento, with stores, hotels, boarding houses, gambling saloons and innumerable tents, shacks and cabins. We pitched our tent on the levee at the foot of an old oak and did a little trading for things we needed on our expedition and then after a supper of fresh beef turned in for a good sleep. The next morning I was accosted by a respectable looking man in specs who very civilly asked me if that was my tent. Thinking he might be a merchant and being anxious to sell cargo, I promptly answered in the affirmative, when he politely informed me that the city did not allow any tents on the levee and that I must leave before night. I told him I would vamose at once and thus ended my first and last interview with the Alcalde of Marysville.

The mining party remained a few days at Marysville until they had sold their extra supplies and the whaling

boat, and then started for a place on the Feather River, called Stony Point. Their road, which was a rough one, led through the paper cities of Charles' Ranch, Rube's Ranch, and Veazie City. Just beyond the latter city they camped for the night and the next day made their way across a plain where chaparral and sage impeded their path and water holes were a long distance apart. After crossing the plain they came to a precipitous mountain which they ascended with much difficulty and then below them lay Stony Point. The descent was worse than the ascent and they had to let their baggage down by ropes but they finally reached the bottom and the mining town of Stony Point was attained. Most of the claims had already been located and the river was too high to work to advantage but our adventurers went on down the river to Boone's Bar and prepared to try their luck. The cradle or rocker used here was not the elaborate one already described but one adapted for individual use and Captain Baker sat down on the supposed gold bearing sand and shovelled the dirt in with one hand and rocked the cradle with the other. His first pan yielded him the modest sum of fifty cents. They remained near Stony Point two weeks, working daily but making scarcely enough to pay for their two meals a day of pork and flour. Their next venture was at Pleasant Valley, about fourteen miles up the river. This was a wild precipitous country, covered with heavy timber and free from underbrush. "The products of the country," writes Captain Baker, "consist of raspberries, strawberries, gooseberries, wild pigs, lizards, and rattlesnakes, with a scattering of deer, hare and Digger Indians, the latter the worst feature." They finally pitched their

tent on a level spot and began, in conjunction with some others, to build a dam so as to uncover the river bed. By hard work and perseverance the dam, two hundred feet in length, was finally completed and the river bed laid bare but they found no gold. As their provisions were now exhausted and hope gone, our adventurers abandoned their claim.

Although Captain Baker was unfortunate at Stony Point and Marysville, the ground there was really very rich and many millions were taken out the next year by more fortunate or skillful miners. "Our claim abandoned," writes Captain Baker, "a few of us with packs weighing upwards of fifty pounds, — thus transformed from mariners to miners and from miners to mules,— retraced our steps to our original starting place." Captain Baker after his return to Stony Point made one more attempt and engaged himself in company with two others to work out a claim two miles down the river. The first day he was very successful, taking out seventy dollars but after that his earnings averaged only three or four dollars a day, not enough to pay his board. This ended his mining experience in California and in one sad verse he announces:

But I'm bound off, I've got my load, my shovel I've laid down,
My pick and crow and pan and spoon, I've left upon the ground.
My cradle I can rock at home, if ever there I get,
And there I'm bound with empty purse and pockets all to let.

After selling what remained of his provisions and tools, Captain Baker took his departure for Sacramento and after travelling up and down hills and through ravines, crossing and recrossing the river, he arrived at Strings-

town, about six miles from Stony Point. This he calls quite a pretty place compared with other towns in its vicinity. The land bordering on the river for a mile or two was comparatively level and the settlers having their buildings scattered along the whole distance had thus caused this true and novel name for the place. At Stringstown he found a party of over a hundred Indians, mostly naked, armed with bows and arrows, looking in all directions in search of a poor miserable wretch who had the misfortune to belong to a tribe with which they were at war. After travelling until almost noon he came to a place christened Rube's Ranch. Here a sudden change of diet from pork and beans to antelope pot pie and good coffee and "fixin's" all for one dollar and a quarter, renewed his strength and spirits. Captain Baker finally arrived at Marysville where he engaged passage to Sacramento and after a pleasant trip down the river found himself once more on board the old bark *San Francisco*, after an absence of four months. He remained there a short time and then took the steamer for San Francisco and after looking up and bidding good-by to his old friends, took passage for Panama, September 10, 1850, on the bark *Belgrade*. The *Belgrade*, an old vessel of two hundred and fifty-six tons, had brought out the Narragansett and Sacramento Mining Company from Cherryfield, Maine, and was now employed in the California and Panama trade. The *Belgrade* was a poor sailer and scantily provisioned and the fifty or sixty passengers aboard, gloomy from their California experience, proved unpleasant companions. Two weeks after sailing the *Belgrade* encountered a severe hurricane which threw her on her beam ends and before she righted they were obliged to

cut away her main topmast, which in its fall carried with it the fore and mizzen topmasts. The vessel righted, though laboring violently, but at midnight the gale increased and blew the foresail and mainsail from the yards and the jib and flying jib followed. All the next day the bark lay rolling in the trough of the sea and when at last the wind moderated they rigged what sail they could and made for Acapulco. For sixteen days under jury rig they made slow progress towards the Mexican coast and the passengers, "who," as Captain Baker says, "during the gale would have willingly signed themselves to a year's imprisonment on bread and water to be on shore," now began to claim they were starved and hold meetings to express their indignation at the owners and captain for their poor fare. October 5, according to their latitude and longitude, they were near Acapulco but

> All hands on deck with eager gaze vainly try to pierce the haze,
> And strain their eyes and growl and swear, because no signs of land are there.

Five days later they sighted a steamer and hoisted the American flag inverted as a signal of distress but the steamer paid no attention. October 12, five weeks from San Francisco, they entered the harbor of Acapulco. Captain Baker thus describes the city:

"Situated at the head of a pleasant bay on the west coast of Mexico, Acapulco has one of the finest harbors on the Pacific side. The city when viewed from the harbor looks rather picturesque but on close examination after landing has not much to boast of. One ancient and half ruined church, another very ancient and wholly ruined

edifice with the tower and part of the walls still standing, were the greatest curiosities of the place that attracted my attention. Along the main street are built a few plastered and tiled houses in the Spanish style, the roofs overhanging the narrow sidewalks upon which were squatted natives of both sexes with various articles of merchandise which they endeavored to press on the passersby. Pigs and poultry abounded and could be had at California prices." After stopping two days at Acapulco and finding that the repairs on the *Belgrade* would take a long time Captain Baker and most of the passengers took passage on a small steamer for Panama. On arrival at Panama he crossed the Isthmus and took passage on the *Cherokee* for New York, where he arrived November 8, 1850.

Captain Baker began his account of the fortunes of the San Francisco Company with the sentiment, "If we've good luck and if we don't, why bless you, don't you cry." He certainly did not have good luck though his failure was not due to lack of enterprise or hard work on his part, and he certainly did not cry. The following poetical effort concludes the account of this gentleman adventurer:

Hello! shipmate, where are you bound?

I'm bound from California, I'm homeward bound once more,
I'm leaving fast this humbug land, with all its glittering ore.
I've travelled far o'er hill and dale, gained bruises and hard knocks,
And now am leaving satisfied with a pocket full of rocks.

A pocket full of rocks, I said, I don't get nothing else,
And need no extra purse or bags or patent safety belts.
My old sea chest still holds my clothes, my books, my ditty box,
My change is still a change of scene, my pile a pile of rocks.

I came to California, — I saw — some heaps of gold,
I conquered many obstacles, that had not been foretold.
I packed around, up hill and down, like any other ass,
I'm satisfied so I'll return and let the green 'uns pass.

O! some are lucky, why not all, is generally their cry,
There's John and Tom have got a pile and why not you and I,
All this is true, my honest friend, but California banks
Are merely mammoth lotteries, their piles are piles of blanks.

'Tis true that some by luck and chance their fortunes soon have made,
By selling paper city lots or working at their trade,
And some by gambling too are rich but hosts and hosts are poor,
And always will be, gold or not, a fact that's certain sure.

There's Golden Lake and Nelson's Creek and diggin's dry and wet
And dams and claims and ten pound lumps to coax the green 'uns yet,
There's little hills to mount besides, not all are dug away,
The elephant is yet alive . . . in Californi-a.

Life at the mines was so dreary and results so unsatisfactory that few of our California adventurers have left records of that part of their experience, and what records there are show a horrible sameness. Two gentlemen from Haverhill, Massachusetts, who went out on the *Leonore*, Charles Plummer and James Lebasquet, give some account of the fortunes of the New England and California Mining Company after they arrived in San Francisco. The company remained in Frisco four days and then sailed across the bay to Benecia. They had brought out on the *Leonore* a steamboat from the sale of which they expected to realize an enormous profit; one hundred thousand dollars was the selling price they had dreamed of, and at Benecia the company divided, part remaining to set up the steamboat and part going on to the mines. The steamer finally sold for thirty-five thousand dollars and paid them well at

that. The men drafted for the mines, thirty in number, in the ship's long boat and two whale boats, started up the river July 13, 1849, and at seven P.M. came to anchor at a place called the " slough " and found the mosquitoes so thick and bloodthirsty that they could neither eat nor sleep,[1] and so they rowed all night and arrived at the Sacramento River about one o'clock the next afternoon. Here they found it so hot that they lay in the shade until four, having experienced in nine days a change of seventy degrees of heat. At four they proceeded up the river, rowing against a strong current, and arrived at Sacramento City July 15, camping at the mouth of the American Fork and Sacramento Rivers. Here they found it very hot, the thermometer registering one hundred and forty degrees in the sun and one hundred and twenty-five degrees in the shade. A gallon of milk, costing two dollars, somewhat allayed their thirst. After resting two days and visiting Sutter's Fort they started up the river for Vernon which they reached on the morning of July 18. Here they bought two horses and loaded their baggage in a wagon in preparation for a march to the dry diggings. They started at five A.M. on the twenty-first and had a hard tramp, finding the horses not at all disposed to do their share and being compelled to harness sixteen of the company to the wagons to help out. The next day after marching fifteen miles they reached a place where they expected to find water but the brook was dry and " There we were," writes Mr. Plummer, "at two o'clock in the afternoon,

[1] One of the company reports the mosquitoes so thick that if you elevated your hat on a stick and then cautiously withdrew the latter, the hat would remain in the air, buoyed up by the mosquitoes.

under a burning sun, and not a drop of water, and after walking ten miles over a hard prairie and no road, with boots galling the skin from our ankles, we arrived about eight P.M. at a small puddle of water and glad enough to get it. We then sent a messenger back to the wagon to come along. We built a large fire on top of a high hill, and after arranging our turns to watch the party turned in, without any coats or blankets, in the open air, lying one side to the fire to keep warm and turning over to warm the other when cold, while the watch were listening to the howling of wild beasts." After great hardships they reached the diggings and found some gold but the weather being intensely hot and the company all sick or disabled they abandoned the mines and the company dissolved.

Mr. Joseph S. Wallis, after the Naumkeag Company had dissolved, joined with some other members of the party and formed what was called the Alert Club and mined on the Yuba. He left Sacramento September 9 on the steamer *Senator* which once ran between Boston and Portland. October 21 he writes, " We have taken out forty-two hundred dollars. The rainy season has begun and it is terrible, hundreds of teams mired in the mud and three fourths of the people here sick. I would rather live in New Orleans during a yellow fever epidemic than here."

The diggings along the Yuba River were very rich and the city of Yuba Dam quite a mining centre. A Beverly gentleman gets off the following:

> Of Yuba Dam the story's told,
> It may be false, it may be true,
> How Jones in search of placer gold,
> Chanced on the town, while it was new.

He saw a man upon a fence,
The usual chills and fever type,
Who sat and watched the lizards play,
And smoked a vilely smelling pipe.

What place is this? my friend, said Jones,
I think I've somehow lost my way,
I left this morn the Billings ranch,
I seek the prospect, Break of Day.

Still puffing at his corn cob pipe,
The native looked the stranger o'er,
Then, in a low and peevish voice,
Said, "Yube Dam," just that, no more.

Astounded at the answer given,
Jones asked once more in terms polite,
Please tell me what this place is called,
I did not get the answer right.

Taking the pipe from out his mouth,
The more tobacco in to cram,
The native said, "I told you once,
You must be deaf, it's Yu-be-Dam."

The fighting blood of Jones rose up,
He dropped his pack and seized the man,
You goll darned bunch of bones, he said,
I'll teach you to say, you be damn.

The native came down from the fence
And hit the earth an awful slam,
But while Jones rolled him in the dust,
He feebly muttered Yube Dam.

The contest o'er, his honor cleared,
But angry still, Jones took his way,
And at a cottage near the road,
He saw a little girl at play.

My dear, said Jones, in sweetest tones,
Please name the town in which you dwell,
This two bit piece I mean for you,
When your town's name you rightly tell.

The child looked up with bashful grace
And shyly eyed the stranger man,
One finger stuck within her mouth
And softly lispèd, "Oo be Dam."

Good God! said Jones, I'll ask no more,
Helltown's the name the place should bear,
Where little children, sweet and mild,
At inoffensive travellers swear.

The LaGrange Company, as has been already stated, mined at Hangtown, so called because two men were hanged there on one tree in its early days. One of the party writes home:

The Elephant House on the levee is the most famous hotel in Sacramento. It is one story in height, 150 feet long and 40 broad. There are three tiers of bunks on each side. They charge two dollars a day without meals. We pay fifty cents for a cigar or drink. At Hangtown we stopped at the Eldorado Hotel, M. Eastner, Proprietor. Here is the bill of fare:

Soup.		
Bean,		$1.00
Ox Tail, (short.)		1.50
Roast.		
Beef, Mexican, (prime cut.)		1.50
Beef, Mexican, (up along.)		1.00
Beef, plain, with one potatoe.	Fair Size.	1.25
Same from the States.		1.50
Vegetables.		
Baked beans, plain.		.75
Baked beans, greased.		1.00
Two potatoes, medium size.		.50

Entrees.	
Saur Kraut.	1.00
Bacon fried.	1.00
Bacon stuffed.	1.00
Hash, low grade.	.75
Hash, 18 carats.	1.00
Game.	
Codfish Balls, per pair.	.75
Grizzly roast.	1.00
Jackass Rabbit, (whole.)	1.00
Pastry.	
Rice pudding, plain.	.75
Rice pudding with molasses.	1.00
Rice pudding with brandy peaches.	2.00
Square meal.	3.00

Payable in advance. Gold scales at the end of the bar.

One gentleman, a member of a company going out via Panama, writes:

We arrived at Frisco Aug. 30th. after a passage from Panama of 102 days. We took our goods from the *Sweden* and transferred them to the sch. *Decatur* and for the 150 miles to Sacramento had to pay $283 while the freight from Boston to Francisco on the *Sweden* was only $155 for the 17,000 miles. I ranged my cases on the bank at Sacramento and opened shop. My tacks brought a dollar a paper. The brass latches are ornamenting the best houses in the city. I sold an everlasting lot of butts and screws at sixty cents a dozen. The gimlets were nearly all sold and I put the rest in a box and sold them at fifty cents a grab. I sold eleven grabs. My stand was called the Boston Notion Shop. I have also engaged in speculation and made considerable money. Vessels are selling dog cheap. Large fine barks bring $3000 to $5000, schooners suitable for river use $5000 to $11,000, and ships can't be sold.

One cause of the failure of our New England miners was their inability to stand the cold, heat, exposure, and poor diet necessitated by their new life. Only the strong, healthy and industrious could succeed and even these lacked the necessary experience. Dysentery, cholera, scurvy, fever, and pulmonary troubles ravaged the mining camps and while doctors were not scarce drugs were hard to obtain. It is estimated that ten thousand miners died the first year. It is probable that the mental condition of the miners had something to do with the mortality. They had come out to California with the most exaggerated ideas of the richness of the mines and the facility with which gold could be extracted from them. They had dreamed of company mining with friends about them and a ship which was to be a home for the sick and weary. Many had invested all their money in the enterprise or borrowed from friends and when they found the social side a failure, that it was each man for himself in California, that the hardest work, such as they would never have dreamed of at home, produced only a bare living, they lost hope and did not make the fight against disease which under other circumstances would have brought them through. It used to be said in '49 that in California, spades were trumps. But after that terrible winter of 1849 to 1850, the more apt saying would seem to have been the quotation from *Hamlet*, "A pickaxe and a spade, a spade. Aye and a winding sheet."

Chapter VII

RECAPITULATION AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

When the sturdy Forty Niners
In the cradle of the world,
Sleep the sleep that knows no waking,
'Neath the flag their hands unfurled,
Still in memory, forever,
We will keep the stories told,
Of the hardships and the toils,
In the struggle after gold.

The fleet of company vessels which sailed from Massachusetts in '49 were all full built ships, as distinguished from clippers, mostly old vessels and dull sailers and yet on the whole, considering their numerous stops for water or provisions, they made fair voyages and reached California without serious damage. This wonderful record was largely due to the unusual quality of the officers who navigated and the men who worked the vessels. At a time when sailors were apt to be ignorant and insubordinate, the captain of a vessel bound for California could pick his crew or, as was more often the case, could man the ship with experienced mariners from his own company. The captain was usually a man who had rounded the Cape several times and his mates men who had commanded their own vessels or mariners competent to take his place should occasion require. There were few deaths and little

sickness aboard company vessels, and many who started with frail bodies and debilitated constitutions reached California in glowing health. Where the vessel was owned by the company the accommodations were fairly good and the food coarse but plentiful, though sometimes badly cooked. On vessels not so owned, the food was often insufficient and of poor quality. There was grumbling, of course, on almost all vessels, company or otherwise, about food and quarters, by men who objected to mahogany beef and locomotive biscuit, who did not like to have their duff boiled in sea water or to sleep two or three in a berth; but in only three cases, so far as the writer can ascertain, were their complaints fully justified. On the ship *Duxbury*, carrying the Old Harvard Company and many passengers, there was constant friction. A few days out from Boston it was discovered that the cooking apparatus was altogether insufficient for the demand and the passengers were restricted to two scanty meals a day. One of the passengers writes from Rio: " We were allowed one half pint of weak tea a day and three pounds of sugar a month. The beef was bad and there was little of it. Petition after petition was sent in to the captain without producing any other effect than the reply, ' If it is not enough, go without.' It is useless to attempt to describe the bickerings, hard words and hard feelings which the conduct of the captain has given rise to. Suffice it to say that we have had as discontented a set of persons as was ever cooped up in any vessel and probably with as much reason. The passengers have entered a complaint to the Consul for the treatment they have received. The crew have all left, hence we shall probably remain here for some weeks before

SHIP *DUXBURY*

matters are finally settled." The ship *Charlotte,* carrying the Boston and California Gold Company also complained to the consul of the food and treatment received aboard, and the trouble on the *Capitol* we have already described. Most of the passengers on these vessels were reasonable men and understood that on a long voyage through the tropics, weevily bread and tainted meat were not always to be avoided, but a bad or insufficient supply of water was a thing they would not stand unless from unavoidable causes. In one or two cases water was carried in casks formerly used for the storage of oil, and the company compelled the captain to put into the first available port and change the source of supply. The officers of company vessels were, as a rule, courteous and obliging, the crew docile and obedient, and the company happy and contented.

Although the by-laws of all companies prohibited the use of alcoholic liquor, little or no attempt was made to investigate the private stock of members and there was more or less drinking on all the vessels. The amount of space allotted to each individual, however, was small and no large stock could be carried. Intoxication was rare and the abuse of liquor frowned on. Gambling went on to a certain extent but by the nature of things the money lost or won could not leave the ship and the results were much less harmful than on the overland routes. The voyage was monotonous but many of the company members were sailors to whom the sea was a home, and others learned to love the ocean and would sit quiet for hours weaving golden dreams of their future in the new country to which each day's run brought them nearer. A passing sail, a

brush with some other company vessel, a spouting whale or even the Cape pigeons and albatross, which told them they were nearing Cape Horn, were always an object of interest. The more active and enterprising studied navigation and helped to run the ship while all indulged in whatever games of skill or chance might take their fancy. Every vessel, so far as the writer could ascertain, carried a band made up from its own members, and music and dancing went on almost every evening. Taken as a whole, the conduct of company members on these vessels was admirable and there was little disposition to question the decisions of their president and directors, a fact which had brought so many overland companies to grief. One thing which contributed to break the monotony of the voyage and keep the passengers contented was the stops made for water and provisions. A vessel leaving Boston for California might not sight land until she gained the coast of Brazil, and not even then unless she planned to stop at St. Catherine's or Rio.

The island of St. Catherine is situated in lat. 27° 32′ S. and long. 41° 18′ W. on the east coast of Brazil and from three to ten miles from the mainland. It is from twenty-five to fifty miles in length and eight to ten in breadth, with a population of thirty thousand people scattered over the island. The town of St. Catherine is situated about midway on the island on the western shore, and contains eight thousand inhabitants. It is hidden by the hills and headlands so that it is not perceived by vessels approaching from the north until they are close upon it. In 1849 it was defended by a fort mounting some heavy cannon. The streets were laid out with considerable regularity but were

very narrow. Mr. Charles Plummer, who went out on the *Leonore*, gives the following description of the place. "The houses here are small and mostly of one story. All the better portion of them are plastered on the outside with white mortar, which gives them a neat appearance. The poorer ones are built of adobe brick. There are no carriages and I saw but one or two carts, which were unwieldly things. Most of the burdens are carried on the backs of mules or the heads of slaves. The colored population appear to be in the majority though some of them are free. On one side of the public square, which is just back of the bay, stands the prison and on the opposite side the barracks. The lower part of the square is used as a market for the sale of meat, vegetables and all sorts of tropical fruits. The prices of most things were as high as we pay at home, butter, fifty cents a pound, eggs, twenty-five cents a dozen and flour ten dollars a barrel. We sail tomorrow."

Most of the company vessels stopped at Rio instead of St. Catherine's, thinking the island a bit slow and preferring the life and excitement of a large city. Rio was a beautiful place and its inhabitants did everything to entertain the visiting Americans, whose numbers for some months averaged twelve or fifteen hundred. After leaving Rio vessels for California made no stop, except perhaps at the Falkland Islands for water or repairs, until after rounding Cape Horn. Doubling Cape Horn was the dreaded part of a California voyage and it was especially so for full built ships such as carried our adventurers. From the scanty records available, however, forty days seem to have been the longest time required by any of the fleet carrying companies to California. This is not a bad record as in 1860 the

famous clipper *Golden Eagle* took ninety days to accomplish the same feat. At the best, however, the passage around the Horn was a dangerous and disagreeable one and many of the passengers hardly left their berths until the ship had passed into the Pacific. Under these circumstances every effort was made to shorten the passage about the extreme southern part of South America. This could be done in two ways: first, by utilizing the Straits of Le Maire; second, by adopting the much more radical step of passing through the Strait of Magellan.

The Straits of LeMaire separate Staten Island from Tierra del Fuego and are about fifteen miles long by fifteen wide, presenting no great difficulties. The saving of time by utilizing this strait was estimated at one or two weeks. Many of the vessels carrying companies did use it and had no cause to regret it. The Strait of Magellan, if successfully attempted, made a much greater saving of time but presented difficulties and dangers few cared to encounter. The passage from the Atlantic side was more difficult than from the Pacific. The brig *Saltillo* was one of the first vessels to sail from Boston for California after the news of the discovery of gold reached that city. She sailed December 24, 1848, with a cargo of rum and after a slow passage of one hundred and four days entered the Strait of Magellan and was twenty-two days in reaching York Harbor and thirty more in gaining the Pacific. The schooner *John Allyn*, carrying a mining company from New Bedford, tried it and was halted by wind and current about ten miles below the first narrows. While anchored in the stream, Mr. Bourne, the first mate, and one of the passengers went ashore to trade with the natives and were

taken prisoners. The passenger was ransomed for five bottles of rum and five pounds of tobacco and the same was paid for Mr. Bourne but the natives refused to release him and carried him off as a captive. He remained in captivity ninety-seven days and was then carried by the natives to Port Santa Cruz and while there jumped into the water and swam to a British vessel which received him kindly. October 6 he shifted from the English vessel to the whale ship *Hudson* and later was put aboard the schooner *Hopewell*, Captain Norton, from Antigua for San Francisco. Meanwhile the *John Allyn*, driven to sea by the storm, was compelled to leave the mate to his fate and take the passage round the Horn. Off the Horn the *John Allyn* encountered another severe gale and Mr. Crapo, the second mate, was washed overboard and drowned. The bark *Hebe*, with a New York company aboard, tried the Strait of Magellan at the same time as the *John Allyn* and with still more disastrous results. A letter from Valparaiso, written by a gentleman on board the schooner *J. B. Geyser*, gives an account of the two almost tragic events.

" We left Rio April 6th. in company with the bark *Hebe* and arrived here in distress having lost our chain, anchor and boats in a gale in the Strait of Magellan. We made Casse Virgin, the entrance of the Strait, April 30th. and met the schooner *John Allyn* with 25 owners aboard. At 10 A.M. came to anchor, all three vessels together at the head of Possession Bay, the mouth of the first narrows. The natives appeared on shore to trade and men from the *Hebe* and *John Allyn* put off in boats to them. It was then calm but a breeze sprang up and the tide ran strong. The *Hebe*

dragged her anchors and hoisted signal for the boats to return. At noon the *Hebe*, six miles from us set signal of distress. We ran down to them and found that the boat with the mate, three of the crew and all of the passengers had been carried away by the current. The morning was clear and beautiful but a gale from the S. West came up and the *Hebe* dragged her anchors and was obliged to put off. About 3 P.M. the *John Allyn* was seen coming broadside on, dragging both anchors. After dragging twelve miles she put to sea." The men from the *Hebe* were picked up at sea and carried to California.

The brig *Acadian*, carrying the Hampshire and Holyoke Company, passed through the Strait of Magellan and the brig *Chatham*, with the Essex Mining Company, was advertised to do so. The bark *Velasco*, with the Narragansett Mining Company, went by Magellan and it took her two hundred and thirty-five days to reach San Francisco. The *Sea Eagle*, with the Middlesex and California Company, chose the same route and her passage was made in two hundred and twenty-six days. The small schooners *Boston*, *Roanoke*, *Paragon*, *Gazelle*, *Astoria*, and *Billow*, went through Magellan but whether they saved time by it is problematical. The general opinion seems to have been that for vessels of any size to pass through the Strait of Magellan from the Atlantic side was attended with as much danger and possible delay as going round the Horn; but granting all this, the possible shortening of the voyage and the accomplishing of a risky feat appealed to the gambling spirit of some adventurous captains and led them to try it against their better judgment.

The Strait of Magellan measured three hundred miles

from Cape Virgin to the Four Evangelists. The scenery was wild, almost Alpine in its character, with snow-topped mountains sheathed with evergreens for a background. It was subject to sudden squalls, called williwaws, which blew with intense force for a few moments and then subsided. The prevailing winds were adverse and the currents swift and erratic. The Strait varied in width from two to fifteen miles, making it difficult for a square-rigged vessel to beat against wind and current. Even a fore and aft rigged vessel was often obliged to anchor for days, with two or three anchors out, with the doubt whether even that number would hold. There were two or three harbors, so-called, Possession Bay, at the head of the first narrows, and Port Famine, half-way through, being the most important. Often for weeks there would be a succession of rain and snow squalls, making navigation difficult if not impossible. One of the members of the Middlesex and California Gold Company on the *Sea Eagle* gives an interesting account of the experience of that vessel in the Strait:

At sea, Oct. 8th. 1849.

We have had a long passage, seven months since leaving Boston and we are now 700 miles from port. We had a decent run to St. Jago, 12 days to Port Praya, where we stopped three days. Bought 10,000 oranges and bananas, sweet potatoes, yams, meat, eggs, and cheese. Off the Platte had the usual gales and head winds but finally made land and entered Magellan. It took us 36 days to get to Port Famine, a miserable place inhabited largely by convicts. Spent July 4th. there and as I looked at the snow and ice I assure you old South Reading with its pretty houses, green fields, pies and beans looked good to me. The Straits are gloomy at the best and we had a long and hard

passage. Soon after leaving Magellan we encountered a terrible gale in the Pacific and had our bulwarks stove in and lost one boat. Stopped at Callao for a few days and visited Lima. Reached El Dorado Oct. 30th. Before the custom house officer came aboard 25 of the party went ashore and now we find we are liable to a fine of $100 a man. As we have only 700 dollars in the treasury I don't know what we will do.

A letter from one of the members of the Narragansett Mining Company, on the bark *Velasco*, tells what the vessel went through in the Strait:

San Francisco, Oct. 1849.

We sailed from Rio April 29th. 1849, and were 35 days to Magellan. Head winds all the way and a pampero off the Platte. Lay to for three days. Entered Magellan with a fair wind which carried us nearly half through. Anchored at Port Famine, a small Chilian settlement, to get food and water. It is the most horrible, gloomy place you can imagine. Left Port Famine June 1st. in company with the sch. *John A. Sutter*. The weather was bad and five miles a good day's run. The days were short, light at 8.30 A.M., dark at 4 P.M. Rain or snow the whole time. We lay for two weeks at a place called Berja Bay and during that time never saw sun, moon or stars. We had 200 fathom of cable out and three anchors. One afternoon while making anchorage at Elizabeth's Bay a snow squall came up, the anchor dragged and we went ashore. We succeeded in getting her off just in time as a terrible gale followed. We got out of the Straits 70 days after we entered them. Magellan all right for steamers but square rigged vessels had better keep away.

The *Acadian* was fifty-seven days in the Strait of Magellan, part of the time rescuing the crew and salvaging the

cargo of the schooner *John A. Sutter*, of Warren, Rhode Island, which had been lost in a snowstorm.

The passage round the Horn might be accomplished in a few days, weeks, or months according to circumstances, and was always cold and disagreeable so that most passengers kept their berths, except when required to help work the vessel. After doubling the Cape there were several places on the route to California where vessels might stop for water or provisions. The first was Talcahuana, in lat. 36° 49′ S., long. 73° 5′ W. Talcahuana was the port of Concepcion, which lay twelve miles up the river. Concepcion was founded in 1550 by Pedro Valdivia, one of Pizarro's most skillful captains, whose adventurous career has been made the subject of romance and story. It was not so popular a place as Valparaiso but still many stopped there. One of the gentlemen on the *Leonore* with a New England conscience writes of the place as follows:

> We put into Talcahuana on the coast of Chili. The climate is mild, fruit abundant, but the inhabitants degraded to the last degree. Every house is a grog shop, Sunday a holiday, and vice is rife among them. There are ten or twelve vessels in port bound for California and the town is full.

For those wanting water only no place offered greater inducements than the island of Juan Fernandez, four hundred and twenty miles west of Valparaiso, in lat. 33° 38′ S. and long. 78° 46′ W. Juan Fernandez was considered to have the purest and sweetest water of any of the supply ports on the Pacific side and was in addition a charming place to visit, affording good fishing and a great variety of fruits such as our New England men had known at home,

peaches, apples, quinces, plums, apricots, and strawberries. Its disadvantages were that it had a poor harbor and few inhabitants. Valparaiso was the favorite place for provisioning and repairing a vessel and also the most attractive to company members. To those who had not stopped at Rio and had rounded the Horn for the first time, it gave the first view of a great South American city with its strange manners and customs, its luscious fruits and gorgeous flowers, its plazas decorated with fountains and statues, where music could be heard each evening, its bull rings, gambling houses, and cafés where subtle drinks were dispensed to the unwary, with everything, in short, attractive and alluring, to men fresh from a long voyage. There were two houses of entertainment in the city, each situated on the summit of a high hill, called by the sailors, Main Top and Mizzen Top, and here every night hundreds of Americans assembled, drank the wine of the country, sang songs of home and sometimes dropped a little money at monte.

Farther north, only twelve degrees below the equator, was Callao, the port of Lima, the silver city, which lay six miles up the river. Lima had a delightful climate, its heat tempered by the cool winds from the Cordilleras and yet was a city of the tropics. It was founded January 6, 1535, by Pizarro under the original name of Ciudad de los Reyes, the City of the Kings, but the name did not hold and was soon changed to Lima. To the romantic or lover of history Lima was a most interesting city, recalling the days of the Spanish conquest and civil wars. Almagro and Pizarro had fought for Lima and its silver treasures; and Pizarro, the winner, had built the massive cathedral where his re-

mains still lie. There too, spanning the river, was the most wonderful bridge in South America, built of stone with six arches, five hundred feet long and one hundred and ninety feet above the water. Lima claimed to have the largest bull ring in the world and the most richly decorated churches in South America. The women of Lima were noted for their beauty and though still wearing the saya and manto, the latter arranged so as to cover the whole face except one eye, were not averse to disclosing their beauties to the eyes of admiring foreigners when not accompanied by men of their own race.

The inhabitants of all these South American cities received the visiting adventurers with the greatest kindness, overlooked little infractions of their laws, and doubtless reaped a rich harvest by so doing. The behavior of the Americans as a whole was good and there was none of that ill feeling displayed on either side which in Mexico led to so many fatal affrays. After leaving Lima vessels made no stop until reaching their port of destination.

The writer has the records, more or less complete, of one hundred and twenty-four companies sailing or going overland from Massachusetts for California in 1849. The history of these companies, the length of their respective voyages or passages across the continent, and all numerical statements are compiled from so many sources that there are doubtless many inaccuracies in the figures given. Of the one hundred and twenty-four companies, one hundred and two took the all sea route and twenty-two the overland. Of the one hundred and two companies going round the Horn or via Magellan — in all but six the number of members in each company is stated — the largest number-

ing one hundred and eighty and the smallest five. The total membership of the ninety-six companies where the number is given was forty-two hundred and ninety-seven and the average in round numbers forty-five. Allowing the average of forty-five to the six companies where the number is not known, the total number taking the all sea route is forty-five hundred and sixty-seven. Of the twenty-two overland companies, in only fourteen is there a record of the number going in each party, and the total membership amounted to four hundred and sixteen, giving an average of thirty to each company. Again, allowing the average of thirty to the eight companies whose record is missing, the number going overland would be six hundred and fifty-six, making the whole number which went from Massachusetts to California in company formation, fifty-two hundred and twenty-three. The writer believes this number to be an underestimate as there were doubtless other companies of which no record could be found.

Of the twenty-two companies going overland, nine took the route through Mexico, two starting from Vera Cruz and six from Corpus Christi, Texas. One company, the Berkshire, is reported at Chihuahua but the route taken is not stated. Nine went by Panama and six by the South Pass. Of the one hundred and two taking the all sea routes only six are known to have passed through the Strait of Magellan, though doubtless most of the companies on small vessels did so. Of the vessels going through Magellan the schooner *Civilian*, carrying the Cochituate Mining Company, made the record voyage, one hundred and forty-three days from Boston; the longest, by the *Acadian* in two hundred and sixty-seven days. The shortest

passage by any company vessel sailing from Massachusetts for California in 1849 was also made by the *Civilian*, one hundred and forty-five days, and the longest by the brig *Vesta* and bark *Acadian*, each making the voyage in two hundred and sixty-seven days. The average passage of all United States vessels arriving at San Francisco up to August 1, 1849, was one hundred and sixty-eight days but this includes several clipper and many freight voyages where shorter stops would naturally be made. The average for company vessels going either round the Horn or by Magellan was a little more than one hundred and eighty days, which, compared with clipper voyages of a few years later, seems very long. It must be remembered, however, that most of the California fleet in 1849 were old, patched-up vessels and rigged rather for safety than speed and that no sea captain carrying a large number of passengers cared to risk his spars or jeopardize his vessel for the sake of saving a few days on a passage which must necessarily take many months. To deliver the company safe and in good health and spirits was the prime object and with this in view frequent stops were made on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides for water, provisions, and recreation. It would be fair to say that ten days of the average voyage were spent in port. Some of these company vessels were really fast and there was considerable rivalry between them. The *Leonore* reached San Francisco in one hundred and forty-nine days from Boston and was loudly proclaimed the " Bully " vessel of the fleet, only to have her colors lowered by the *Attila* and the converted whaling ship *Russell*, both of which made the run in one hundred and forty-seven days. The brig *Charlotte* claimed

to have averaged twelve knots an hour for twenty-four hours, a good record for any vessel. The longest time required to round the Cape was forty days by the brig *Pauline*, which had her bulwarks stove in and one man washed overboard and drowned.

The number of company vessels sailing from Massachusetts in '49 was eighty-eight, many of them carrying two or more companies. The largest was the *Edward Everett* of seven hundred tons, the smallest the *Toccao* of twenty-eight tons. The total number of vessels, including company and others, sailing from Massachusetts in '49 was two hundred and fifty, one hundred and fifty-one from Boston, forty-two from New Bedford, eight from Nantucket, six from Newburyport, six from Gloucester and the balance from other ports. In a large number of cases the company owned the vessel in which they sailed. These vessels cost from thirty thousand dollars downwards. The price of shares varied from fifty dollars, the lowest, to one thousand dollars, the highest. Even where the company owned the vessel the shareholders were not necessarily on board but may have sent substitutes, or several members may have advanced the money to purchase the vessel and of course had to be reimbursed. Although every effort was made to make these companies as democratic as possible it was not practical on a ship to give all the same accommodations and the officers and owners of the vessel seem to have occupied the staterooms and cabin.

The actual cost to each person of a passage to California in company vessels is hard to compute, particularly so because almost all the companies going by sea were trad-

ing as well as mining companies, and the profit on the cargo and money realized from the sale of the ship went to increase the dividend and thus diminish the cost of passage. The Plymouth Mining Company divided three hundred dollars apiece. The New Bedford and California, on the *Mayflower*, paid each member the amount of his assessment, the cost of his passage, and two hundred and fifty dollars in cash. The Rialto Company paid twenty-two hundred dollars to each member. These were the fortunate ones; most of those paying any dividend divided from one hundred dollars to three hundred dollars, while many paid nothing or merely a share of what provisions were left and some companies arrived in debt. So far as the writer can ascertain, the cost of transporting a passenger to California by sea in company vessels was at least four hundred dollars on the average. If to this be added the cost of personal equipment and the ready cash which a man of any prudence would take with him, the total cost must have been at least five hundred dollars. Taking forty-five hundred and sixty-seven as the number going to California by sea on company vessels and multiplying by five hundred, the cost to each passenger, it would mean a total cost of two million, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, five hundred dollars. As it is probable that some fifteen hundred went as passengers to California in '49, outside of company formation, it would mean that at least four million dollars was taken from the state during the year. The vessels taken out had to be abandoned or sold for a song, although there was a much better market for schooners and small craft than for ships.

There was a radical difference between the companies

going by sea and the overland companies. The former were trading as well as mining companies and expected to make money on the cargoes carried out, while the latter were companies formed for protection on what was supposed to be a dangerous journey. There was no need for a large capital stock in overland companies and in no instance in the papers of the day is there mention of any capital stock at all. There must have been an assessment to defray the cost of organization, but whether the other expenses were personal or paid from a company fund does not appear. It was this loose organization which led to the breaking up of most of the overland parties before they reached California. It is stated that no overland company taking the Panama or Mexican route reached California with its original members. This is true also of most of the companies going by the plains. The speed at which an overland party could travel was measured by that of its weakest member, and the more active and selfish chafed at delay and in many cases broke away and went on ahead. The cost of an overland passage was greater than by the all sea route. Many of the companies were organized with expensive uniforms and music and all had more incidental expenses than those going by sea. The route by the South Pass involved the passage from Massachusetts to Independence and then a wait of two or three weeks in that place. Under favorable conditions, especially where an experienced guide had been hired, California could be reached in ninety days, but few made the trip under favorable conditions. The cost from Independence to Sacramento was at least three hundred dollars and usually more. San Francisco could be reached by the Panama

route in sixty to seventy days at a cost of from two hundred and fifty dollars to seven hundred per person, but this was by steamer and in '49 the steamers rarely connected. Although shorter than the all sea route the passage via Panama was not so attractive. One of the passengers on the steamship *Falcon* writes of her, "The berths are double and only thirty inches wide, the food is bad, the pork rusty, the beef rotten, the duff half cooked and the beans contain two bugs to a bean." The route through Mexico was so uncertain that no estimate could be made of its cost. Those who took it, if they arrived at all, did so with empty pockets. The largest number in any overland party of which the writer has records was fifty-two and the smallest eleven. It was not safe for either land or water companies to start without sufficient money for emergencies, and the omission of this precaution caused much of the delay and suffering they experienced. One of the adventurers who went via Panama writes home: "If ever you leave home on an excursion like this don't do so without a pile of rocks. You will be subjected to all kinds of impositions which if you have the money you might avoid. I would not come again without one thousand dollars in cash."

We have said that the conduct of the adventurers as a rule was good, and so far as the South Pass was concerned the papers of the day report no disturbances except some slight trouble with the Indians, but in Mexico there were a number of affrays with the natives and some loss of life. At Panama a number of Americans forced themselves into a fandango and a fight ensued resulting in several wounded on both sides. At St. Catherine's, Brazil, there was a

rather serious disturbance with the police but without loss of life. At Callao the natives attacked some American adventurers and several of them were badly beaten. Considering the thousands of passengers who stopped at or passed through Spanish American cities on their way to California there was really little friction.

The loss of life from sickness was vastly greater on the overland than on the all sea route. Though there is no record, hundreds of our Massachusetts men must have died on the plains and in Mexico from dysentery and cholera. On the sea route there was almost no sickness except eruptive diseases, and few deaths. All the companies dissolved sooner or later. Most of them did so at Sacramento which was nicknamed the "Powder Magazine" because so many companies blew up there. How much gold was brought or sent back to Massachusetts from California it is impossible to estimate. Cases are mentioned where gentlemen remitted all the way from one thousand dollars to one hundred thousand dollars but there is no way of verifying the stories. There was no United States Mint in California in '49, but custom duties had to be paid in gold coin. There was more foreign than domestic gold coin in circulation and one lot of the *Almena's* flour is said to have been paid for in the coin of seven different countries. The result was that private coinage was carried on to a certain extent. The Massachusetts and California Gold Company, said to have gone overland from Northampton, carried with them all the requisites for establishing a private mint and engaged William H. Hayden, a Yale graduate, to go with them as assayer. The *Greyhound* from Philadelphia also carried

out the machinery for a mint. The Miner's Bank minted a ten-dollar gold piece with " Miner's Bank, S. Francisco. Ten dollars " on one side and on the reverse the American eagle. A five-dollar gold piece was minted with " California Gold without Alloy," on one side and " Full weight of half Eagle, S. Fr." with " N. G. & N." lettered at the bottom. Although some of these coins resembled those of the United States there was no chance of mistaking them as, being pure gold, they were of a different color.

How large a proportion of those going to California from Massachusetts ever returned to the home state is hard to estimate. Death took a heavy toll and many remained there in business. The *Edward Everett* carried out one hundred and fifty men and thirty became permanent residents of California. Many of the companies going out intended to make California their home and perhaps not over sixty per cent of those who left Massachusetts for the Gold Coast ever returned to their native state. The loss in numbers was more than made up by the horde of immigrants that poured in from the continent of Europe but there was no comparison in the quality of the exchange. Towards the end of '49 many adventurers took out their wives or those already in California sent for their families so that by 1850 home life in the state became less a rarity.

The discovery of gold in California and the exodus from the East which followed had a profound and lasting effect on the commercial, social and political life of this country. It led to the building of the magnificent clipper fleet which made America the first maritime nation in the world. England had thrown open the tea trade which called for small clippers but large vessels were needed for the long

voyage to California, and this profitable trade was reserved for American vessels, for though England had modified her navigation laws, the United States had not, and no English vessel could sail from an American port to California or pass up the river to Sacramento. This made possible a voyage from our eastern ports to San Francisco, thence to China, London, and back to Boston or New York. It opened a new trade which afforded employment to a portion of our merchant fleet until the Civil War and the increased use of steam put an end to our commercial supremacy. It carried away from the East some of its best and most energetic citizens but it stimulated the manufacturing and agricultural interests of that section and gave employment to the hungry horde which poured in from Europe. It had also a profound effect on the social and religious life of New England. Those who returned from California came back with a broader catholicity and less restricted views. They had travelled and seen other countries and known other religions; they had learned that all men of whatever faith are alike when tempted; they had seen vice in its various forms and its inevitable punishment; they had learned that success must be earned by hard work and that communism was a failure; that gold easily won is quickly spent and that friendship and self-sacrifice are worth more than gold. Some of these things at least they had learned and in most cases took up life on broader lines. Its political effect was also far-reaching. It added another state to the Union and when some years later the Civil War broke out it ranged California on the side of freedom.

In comparing the all sea route with the overland routes,

the writer has necessarily shown the latter on its darkest side. Letters from those going by sea were sent home by passing vessels or from ports of stoppage, and these letters naturally dealt with the more pleasing aspects of the trip. Companies going overland, except by Panama, had neither time to write nor opportunity to send letters, and hence our information is restricted. What information we have is of the companies who came to grief. It is true that the route by sea was safer, surer, less exhausting and expensive than the overland routes but the latter had some compensations. The passenger by sea reached California in good health but with muscles soft and flabby and unused to hard work, while the man going overland arrived hard as nails with a body inured to fatigue and privation. Consequently while there were few deaths on company vessels the mortality of the members after reaching California was greater than among those who arrived overland. Of the companies going overland who had a pleasant and interesting, if arduous, trip, we know nothing, but we do know the story of those who gained the Gold Coast after a terrible experience. More men entered California by the South Pass than by all the other routes combined; it was the safest and most interesting overland route and yet picture one of these companies as they entered Death Valley or the Mohave Desert. The gaily painted wagons, brought at a great expense from the East, they had used as firewood; their revolvers, the old pepper pot variety, had been found useful only for shooting rattlesnakes; their rifles had been left behind on the trail; their cattle had been consumed for food or left mired in some muddy creek; the gold and silver lace which had so gaily be-

decked their uniforms had been left in fragments on the cacti and sage brush of the desert. Mocked by the mirage, with lips cracked and bleeding and eyes bloodshot from alkali dust, the strong struggled on and God help the weak. On the plains men learned to know their companions. All that was best and worst in human nature came out and the real man was revealed. Those who went by sea in after life remembered in a hazy way the uneventful voyage, but those who crossed the plains, though they lived beyond the age allotted to man, never forgot the ungratified thirst, the intense heat and bitter cold, the craving hunger and utter physical exhaustion of the trail, and the rude crosses which marked the last resting places of loved companions. But there was another side. Neither would they ever forget the level prairie, covered with lush grass and dotted with larkspur, verbena, lupin, and geranium; the glorious sunrise in the mountains; the camp fire of buffalo chips at night, the last pipe before bedtime and the pure, sweet air of the desert. True they had suffered, but the satisfaction of deeds accomplished and difficulties overcome more than compensated and made the overland passage a thing never to be forgotten and a lifelong pleasure in remembrance. To those who loved nature, memory would bring back their passage through canyons where the walls on each side towered hundreds of feet above them, their sides clothed with pine, spruce, and evergreen, stunted in its growth, perhaps, but still trees, so grateful to the eye after the sage brush and prickly pear of the desert; a little stream of cool water rippling by the side of the trail and now and then a waterfall sending its sheet of foam down the precipitous side of the canyon; the

castle rocks and painted buttes showing every shade of red from brilliant vermilion to dull brick color, banded with green, white and mauve, a perfect kaleidoscope of colors when lighted up by the rising or setting sun, while the snow-capped mountains in the distance completed the picture — a color scheme all the more fascinating in contrast with the dull gray and brown of the desert and the dazzling white of the alkali plains.

Memories and experience were, perhaps, all that was gained by these adventurers on their golden quest; some died, many returned home, but a sufficient number remained in California to assist in building up a great and wonderful commonwealth, and at a time when a strong effort was made to make California a slave state, they stood solidly on the side of freedom and won the fight. True, they were adventurers, but the adventure stands in a class by itself. It was not the lure of gold alone which drew the flower of our Massachusetts youth to a strange and distant country. It was the innate love of adventure for its own sake, the desire to see new cities and countries, the wish to lead broader and freer lives and assist in building up a new state. It was the same spirit as that which had pushed our frontier slowly westward amidst hostile Indians, the same spirit that had animated Columbus and those in our own day who have so persistently sought to explore the frozen North. Yes, they were adventurers, but they were adventurers of whom New England may well be proud, and their story is one to be remembered and cherished.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

LIST OF MINING COMPANIES FROM MASSACHUSETTS GOING TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849, DATE OF STARTING AND ARRIVAL (WHERE KNOWN), LENGTH OF VOYAGE OR OVERLAND PASSAGE AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION NOT CONTAINED IN PREVIOUS PAGES

1

Acushnet Mining and Building Association

Sailed from Boston, August 1, 1849, on ship *Florida*, James S. Robinson, master. Arrived at San Francisco, January 2, 1850. Passage of 154 days. 42 in company.

2

Astor Mining Company

Sailed from Nantucket, March 12, 1849, on ship *Henry Astor*, George Joy, master; Alix H. Coffin, mate; Obed Fosdick, second mate; John H. Chase, third mate; Isaac Thompson, physician. Arrived at San Francisco, September 16, 1849. The *Astor*, a ship of 378 tons, was owned by the company. Length of passage 188 days. The *Astor* returned to an eastern port. 51 in company.

3

Astoria Mining Company

Sailed from Gloucester, December 11, 1849, on schooner *Astoria*, George Parkhurst, master, carrying a company consisting of ten men from Gloucester, two from Essex, and one from Rockport.
13 in company.

4

Bay State and California Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, January 26, 1849, on brig *Almena*, John Lincoln, master; Captain Eldridge, mate; Benjamin Hill of Salem, Joseph

Story of Essex, and George Kenna of Lynn, directors. Each member of the company paid $600, which entitled him to a passage to California, a return ticket, and life insurance to the amount of $1000. The *Almena*, a vessel of 175 tons, made the run out in 173 days and in 1850 returned east. 29 in company.

5

BAY STATE AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, April 4, 1849, on ship *Areatus*, James Whooley, master. Arrived at San Francisco, September 23, 1849, after a passage of 171 days. The *Areatus* was an old vessel built in 1839, measured 538 tons, and a year later on a voyage from Singapore was abandoned at sea in a sinking condition. 143 in company.

6

BELLE COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, April 3, 1849, on ship *America*, 400 tons. Arrived at San Francisco, September 22, 1849. All the members from New Bedford. Passage of 160 days. Resumed whaling and was lost in Arctic. 11 in company.

7

BERKSHIRE AND CALIFORNIA COMPANY

Went overland but no other information about them.

8

BEVERLY JOINT STOCK SAN FRANCISCO MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Beverly, August 15, 1849, on bark *San Francisco*, Thomas Remmonds, master; John G. Butman, mate; Andrew Larcum, second mate; James Brown, third mate. The capital stock of the company consisted of $20,000 divided into shares of $50 each. The run to California was made in 149 days. The *San Francisco*, a vessel of 268 tons, went up the river to Sacramento but finally returned to Beverly under command of Calvin Wallis. Four members of the company died in Sacramento, Isaac Wallis, Edward Woodberry, William Goodridge, and Benjamin Rogers. 40 in company.

9

Beverly Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Beverly, August 16, 1849, on brig *Christiana*, 226 tons, Thomas Patterson, master; Aaron Foster, mate; R. W. Keith, second mate. Francis Cummings, Joseph Patch, Jeremiah Allen, John Cary, John T. Eldridge, A. S. Batchelder, and Samuel T. Plummer, all of Beverly, comprised the crew. David Dodge and nine others of Beverly went as passengers. The company owned and manned the vessel. The *Christiana* was tied up at the south bank of the Sacramento in the late fall of 1850. 21 in company.

10

Billow Company

Sailed from Gloucester, December 6, 1849, on schooner *Billow*, A. W. Smith, master; John Winn of Salem, mate. Manchester and Gloucester men. 15 in company.

11

Boston and California Gold Company

Sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on ship *Charlotte*, Edward P. Savory, master. Essex County and Boston men. Arrived at San Francisco, September 19, 1849, after a passage of 195 days. The *Charlotte*, 541 tons, was at first used as a store ship and afterwards made a voyage to Guayaquil where she went ashore and proved a total loss. 128 in company.

12

Boston and California Joint Stock Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, January 13, 1849, on ship *Edward Everett*, Henry Smith, master. Arrived at San Francisco in 174 days. The company owned the vessel. It is said that the company represented 24 trades and 15 professions and that one-third of them were persons of property. Thirty of the company became residents of California.
150 in company.

13

Boston and Newburyport Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on schooner *Edwin*, for Chagres to cross the Isthmus. Bard Plummer, Albert W. Goodwin, and William W. Huse, directors; George E. Allen, treasurer; G. B. Tibbets, physician; W. W. Allen, surgeon. ? in company.

14

Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association

Started from Boston, April 16, 1849, to go to California via Independence and the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Bracket Lord, president; Walter C. Fitch, vice-president; S. D. Osborne, secretary; Jesse Winslow, treasurer; D. J. Staples, J. A. Hough, A. C. Sweetser, H. Dickerson, Benjamin C. Evans, and Thomas H. Magrath, directors. Dr. D. J. Locke, by whom the town of Lockeford was laid out and who was afterwards closely identified with the history of San Joaquin County, California, went out as physician. They reached California, September 16, 1849, after a pleasant trip.

25 in company.

15

Boston Marine Mining Association

Sailed from Boston, Ju'y 18, 1849, on schooner *Roanoke*, William N. Shelley, master, for San Francisco via Magellan. The company consisted of Boston, Plymouth, Pembroke, Milton, and Hanover men. Although Captain Shelley was president, the moving spirit seems to have been G. M. Josselyn who afterwards became a prominent ship chandler of San Francisco. Mr. Josselyn bought the schooner *Roanoke*, probably for the company, and loaded her with miner's supplies. When off Rio they ran short of provisions and not having money enough to pay port dues there, put into Grande Harbor and were ordered off, the forts firing on them as they left. Somehow or other they got provisions enough to enable them to reach San Francisco, which they did in 164 days, but they found no market for the cargo which they were obliged to dump on the beach, but they did sell the schooner, which was afterwards employed in the Sandwich Island trade.

21 in company.

16

Boston Mechanics Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, February 9, 1849, on bark *Lancrk*, Captain Woodberry. There were several other companies on the vessel. Arrived out, September 12, 1849, a passage of 212 days. The vessel was taken to the New York of the Pacific at the mouth of the San Joaquin River and the company members went off to the mines. During their absence, with or without the consent of the company, Captain Woodberry made a voyage to Australia but returned to San Francisco in

1851. The *Lanerk* arrived back in Boston in 1852. Most of the passengers on the voyage to California were men from Neponset, Roxbury, and Boston. ? in company.

17

Bristol County Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from New Bedford, August 14, 1849, on bark *Otranto*, William Howland, master. The company owned the vessel. 33 in company.

18

Bunker Hill Mining and Trading Association

Sailed from Boston, March 5, 1849, on ship *Regulus*. Daniel Bradford of Duxbury, president; William M. Parker of Manchester, N. H., vice-president; Joseph Baret, secretary; S. W. Clark of West Boylston, treasurer. The *Regulus*, a vessel of 387 tons, made the run to San Francisco in 192 days. She became a store ship at Benecia and afterwards San Francisco, and was finally broken up. ? in company.

19

Bunker Hill and California Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Charlestown, January 13, 1849, on brig *Pauline*, Leonard French, master. The *Pauline*, 10 years old and 150 tons burden, had been bought by the company for $4000. She arrived at San Francisco, September 1, 1849, 241 days from Boston. They were 40 days off the Horn. The *Pauline* was sold at San Francisco in 1850.

30 in company.

20

Cape Ann Pioneers

Sailed from Rockport, January 31, 1849, on schooner *Boston*, William Beard, master. Arrived at San Francisco, July 7, 1849, 157 days passage. Went through Magellan and Captain Beard did not advise others to try it. Sold the vessel on arrival for $4000. The *Boston* was only 105 tons and was bought for the island trade.

10 in company.

21

Cochituate Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, November 6, 1849, on schooner *Civilian*, Thomas Dodge, master; John Dillingham of Brewster, mate; Paul Howes of

Dennis, second mate. The shares were two hundred dollars each and Captain Dodge was given one free for his services. The *Civilian* was a nearly new schooner of 170 tons and she arrived at San Francisco, April 5, 1850, making the fast passage of 143 days via Magellan. She left San Francisco in 1850 and was sold to Peruvian parties.

43 in company.

22

Congress and California Protective Association

Left Boston, March 19, 1849, to go to California via Independence and the South Pass of Rocky Mountains. John Webber, Jr., president; Major N. A. M. Dudley of Boston, vice-president; Colonel Darlington of Leominster, adjutant; Otis Stevens of Roxbury, commissary; Charles Pearsons of Roxbury, quartermaster; Captain R. C. Nichols of Boston, treasurer; Dr. Robinson of Fitchburg, surgeon. Started as a military company and split at Westport. July 31, 1849, Major Webber writes, "Had 51 in the Company when I started and now with 400 miles to go have only John Webber Junior, Clighton, Edgerly, Pearson, and Thurber." The balance of the company reached California in September. 51 in company.

23

Cotuit Port Association

Sailed from Barnstable, November 11, 1849, on schooner *Eugene*, Asa Colman, master; Japhet Tucker, mate. The *Eugene* was a schooner of 161 tons burden, and arrived at San Francisco, April 22, 1850, having made the run out in 161 days. She went up the Sacramento River and remained tied up to the north bank of the river for some months, and then returned to the Atlantic coast. 16 in company.

24

Dimon Company

Sailed from New Bedford, January 30, 1849, on bark *Dimon*, Robert P. Raymond, master; George W. Smith of New Bedford, mate; John Carr of Fall River, second mate. Company consisted of New Bedford, Fall River, and Bridgewater men. The passage out was made in 168 days. 56 in company.

25

Domingo Company

Sailed from Newburyport, October 21, 1849, on bark *Domingo*, Captain Bray. Company of eight from Gloucester and one from Rockport. 9 in company.

26

Dukes County Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Edgartown, September 17, 1849, on ship *Splendid*, Gustavus Bayless, master and treasurer; John S. Smith, B. N. Fisher, Thomas N. Ball, Edward Mayhew, Samuel A. Briggs, and Nathan Mayhew, all directors. The *Splendid* was a ship of 392 tons, and in 1851 she was back at Edgartown. 70 in company.

27

Eagle Trading and Mining Company

Sailed from Gloucester? No particulars available. 20 in company.

28

Edgartown Mining Company

Sailed from Edgartown, May 7, 1849, on ship *Walter Scott*, Henry Pease of Edgartown, master and treasurer; Moses Adams of Chilmark, chief director; Cyrus W. Pease, secretary. All Vineyard men. Made run to San Francisco in 156 days. Returned to Edgartown and was fitted out as whaler. ? in company.

29

Edward Fletcher Company

Sailed from Boston, March 6, 1849, on bark *Edward Fletcher*. Mostly Boston men. Passage out to San Francisco in 189 days.
30 in company.

30

El Dorado Association

Sailed from Boston, April 2, 1849, on brig *Canonicus*, John S. Martin of Castine, Me., master; Christopher Godfrey of Providence, R. I., mate; Andrew Wescanthal of Boston, second mate; and Mr. Judkins of Roxbury, third mate. The *Canonicus* measured 215 tons and

arrived at San Francisco, November 2, 1849, making the passage in 185 days. Lemuel Lyons of Roxbury was president of the company; W. C. Perkins of Roxbury, vice-president; Nathaniel Howard of Boston, A. W. Carleton of Methuen, and Francis D. Croft, directors. The *Canonicus* made several voyages from San Francisco and then became a store ship and was burned at the wharf in that city in 1853.

54 in company.

31

EMILY BOURNE COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, February 9, 1849, on schooner *Emily Bourne*, William R. Potter, master; Obed Delano, mate; Warren M. Chester, second mate; Horatio S. Rotch of New Bedford, president; Robert B. Almy of Boston, vice-president. The company owned the vessel and carried out $10,000 for trade. Passage to San Francisco in 180 days. 25 in company.

32

ESSEX COUNTY AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Beverly, November 15, 1849, on bark *Metropolis*, J. C. Bennet, master; Ebenezer Ellingwood, mate; John Quiner, second mate; Mr. Fisher, third mate; Nathaniel F. Sheldon, president; William Cole, vice-president; William Davis, secretary; John C. Foster, treasurer; Moses Low, George Thissel, John E. Porter, Israel Trask, John C. Bennet, John M. Sewell, and John Fiske, all of Beverly, directors. Passage to San Francisco in 207 days.

40 in company.

33

ESSEX MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, May 15, 1849, on brig *Chatham*, Captain Huffington; arrived at San Francisco, November 1, 1849, a passage of 168 days. Thomas W. Freelove of Norwich, Conn., president of the company; J. W. Wallace of Braintree, George B. Jeffries of Boston, John Miller of Marblehead, and Joseph Isnard of Boston, directors. The *Chatham* afterwards used on Columbia River. 33 in company.

34

ESSEX OVERLAND MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on schooner *John W. Herbert*, for Corpus Christi to go through Mexico for Mazatlan. W. C. Waters,

president; Thomas Brooks, vice-president; Joseph Hall, secretary; Benjamin S. Grush, treasurer; Warren Prince, E. M. Chapman, and William Warner, directors. 38 in company.

35

Fairhaven Mining Company

Sailed from Fairhaven, August 29, 1849, on ship *Friendship*, William Stott, master. 31 in company.

36

Franklin and California Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, September 18, 1849, on ship *Harriet Rockwell*, Shabell Hawes, master; Captain David Saville of Charlestown, president; G. M. Bancroft of Boston, secretary; Cushing Barnes of South Boston, Allan Southcoult of Lynn, Daniel F. Ward of South Boston, George L. Pratt of Weymouth, C. B. Dennison of Northboro, John McCoy of Lowell, and George Nichols of Woburn, directors. The *Rockwell* was an old ship of 450 tons, owned by the company. Each member paid in $300. Passage to San Francisco in 161 days. 97 in company.

37

Gazelle Company

Sailed from New Bedford? on schooner *Gazelle*, Joseph C. Currier, master; John Merrill, supercargo; E. R. Haywood, clerk; Fred S. Howland, Daniel B. Atkins, Samuel Small, Eli Wodel, Leander Potter, and W. E. Chambers, directors. Passage to San Francisco in 176 days. 18 in company.

38

Gloucester Fishing, Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Gloucester, February 19, 1849, on schooner *Paragon*, Timothy Haley, master; Pliny Davidson, mate. The *Paragon* measured 92 tons and the shares were $150 each. Passage out 183 days. 28 in company.

39

Granite State and California Overland Mining Company

Started from South Boston, April 17, 1849, to go overland via Independence and the South Pass. George W. Houston, president;

Joseph B. Gage, vice-president; Edward Moore, secretary; Calvin S. Fifield, treasurer. Some from New Hampshire but most from Boston and vicinity. 30 in company.

40

Granite State Company

Sailed from New Bedford, April 3, 1849, on ship *America*, Captain Seabury. Boston and New York men. 69 in company.

41

Hampden Mining and Trading Company of Westfield

Started from Springfield, January 25, 1849, to go to California overland via Rio Grande and Mexico. Under command of Captain Harding of Westfield they sailed from New York on the schooner *John Eastner*, for Brazos. They sent their baggage round the Horn. Split up at Monterey. 55 in company.

42

Hampshire and Holyoke Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 4, 1849, on brig *Acadian*, 157 tons, Theodore Cunningham, master. William H. Mitchell of Boston was president of the company. Arrived at San Francisco, October 29, 1849, a passage of 267 days. The company owned the vessel. 15 in company.

43

Holyoke Northampton Overland Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 4, 1849, on bark *S. L. Crowell*, for Chagres to go to California via Panama. Richard Chenery, president; Marshall Hubbard, Horace Bridges, Charles Starkweather, and Fred S. Phelps, directors. 21 in company.

44

Hope Mining Company

Sailed from Nantucket, August 17, 1849, on ship *Fanny*, 400 tons, Uriah Russell, master; Benjamin C. Sawyer, mate; William Chase, second mate; Robert Congdon, third mate. The *Fanny* was purchased by Christopher Capon for the company for $9500, provisioned for two years and loaded with lumber. The company comprised many of the best known citizens of Nantucket, among them R. B.

Parker, who afterwards became a prominent citizen of Stockton, Cal. The following items are largely taken from Mr. Parker's autobiography. The company organized with John Morrissey as president, and James Thompson, Peter Brock, Wyman Bradbury, Royal Parker, and George Worth as directors. They sailed from Nantucket in August and made a stop for fresh vegetables at the Cape Verde Islands. They stopped again at Valparaiso and reached San Francisco, February 21, 1850, a run of 188 days. They found the market for lumber very poor and they decided to fit up the vessel for passenger trade between Panama and San Francisco and sell their lumber there. About this time the company broke up and Mr. Parker, who had bought up a number of shares from the dissatisfied, took the vessel to Panama. The venture proved a loss and on her return to San Francisco the *Fanny* was sold and eventually returned to her old trade as a whaler. 22 in company.

45

Horace Mining Company

Sailed from New Bedford, March 17, 1849, on schooner *Horace*, David Randell, master. Eleven of the company from New Bedford, the rest Nantucket and Sandwich men. Arrived at San Francisco in 248 days. 20 in company.

46

Hyannis Gold Company

Sailed from New Bedford, December 12, 1849, on schooner *Eliza B.* or *Elizabeth B.* — both names given — Captain Bacon; Franklin Bearse, Orlando Bassett, Allen H. Bearse, Almorah Bacon, and Allen S. Hallett, directors. The little schooner, only 98 tons, was owned and manned entirely by Barnstable men. She arrived at San Francisco, via St. Catherine's and Magellan, May 6, 1850, in the fast time of 144 days. The *Elizabeth* went up the river to Sacramento and was tied up there for some months but eventually went back to Barnstable.
? in company.

47

Japan Nantucket Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, August 1, 1849, on ship *Japan* of Nantucket, Henry Bigelow, master; Samuel Bunker, mate. The *Japan* was owned and navigated by the company, seventeen of them from Nantucket. 25 in company.

48

JOHN ALLYN MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, February 13, 1849, on schooner *John Allyn*, Allen Brownell of Fairhaven, master. Fifteen of the company were from New Bedford. 22 in company.

49

JUNO MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, August 15, 1849, on brig *Juno*, Edwin T. Cook, master. 24 in company.

50

KENNEBEC TRADING AND MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, March 29, 1849, on ship *Obed Mitchell*, G. L. Cox, master; Edward B. Hunt of Boston, mate; Fred Wells of Pittston, Me., second mate; C. M. Cooper, treasurer; Wm. B. Clark of Hallowell, secretary. The above with Charles E. Hayden were directors. The *Obed Mitchell* was bought in New Bedford for $11,500 and was owned by the company. Dr. Constantine of Boston and Major Bodfish, the latter a hero of the Mexican War, are mentioned as prominent members. Voyage out in 167 days. 53 in company.

51

LOWELL OVERLAND COMPANY

Went overland via Mexico under Captain Cutter. Under date of July 2, 1849, Mr. Emerson of the company writes: "We arrived at the mines 10 days ago and make enough to pay expenses. Pay $21 a week for board, do our own washing and sleep in the open. Have not slept under a roof for four months. Shall return as soon as I have money enough on steamer — never again overland."

? in company.

52

MAGNOLIA COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford [date unknown], on ship *Magnolia*. Passage out 201 days. Company of Westport men. 6 in company.

53

MARBLEHEAD OVERLAND MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New York, March 9, 1849, on steamship *Peerless*, for Corpus Christi and Mexico. Company consisted of J. B. Christy and

E. T. Brooks of Boston; William Hobbs and Stephen Nichols of Cambridge; N. R. Blaney, Jonathan Chapman, A. Cragin, Peter Dolliber, Benjamin Wormstead, and William Torrence of Marblehead. The company broke up soon after leaving Brazos and all, excepting a Mr. Heath, returned home. Mr. Heath finally reached California. 11 in company.

54

MARY AND EMMA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Nantucket, December 6, 1849, on schooner *Mary and Emma*, David Patterson, master. Company consisted of William Patterson, Reuben Manter, John Bearse, David Hull, and Amos Rydon. The schooner was only 52 tons. 6 in company.

55

MASSACHUSETTS AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, January 28, 1849, on brig *Mary Wilder*, Moses J. Mulliken, master. Arrived at San Francisco, August 10, 1849, making the run in 189 days. Hiram F. Barker of Boston was president of the company, Asa H. Holbrook of Woonsocket, R. I., vice-president. They carried a meat cook, a pastry cook, and a steward. Off the Horn the cooks tried their hands on an albatross which the men had caught but neither as a pie nor stew was it appreciated. They stopped at Talcahuano and coming out had a brush with the brig *Osceola* of Philadelphia and were beaten. The *Mary Wilder* finally returned to the Atlantic coast and was, according to American Lloyds, 1868–69, the bark *Nord See* of Bremen at that date. 49 in company.

56

MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE MINING COMPANY

The company went overland via Panama but no other information could be obtained. ? in company.

57

MASSASOIT OVERLAND MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, March 12, 1849, on schooner *Harriet Neal*, for Chagres and Panama to go overland. Dr. Alanson Abbe of Boston, president; J. B. Judkins, secretary; George T. Weare of Cambridge, Edward Wilder of Boston, Benjamin T. Shepherd of Wilmot, D. W. Stearns of Ware, and A. W. Gould of Roxbury, directors. The com-

pany crossed the Isthmus and there broke up in parties. Five took the steamer, paying at the rate of $200 for a deck passage, $250 for berth between decks, and $350 for a stateroom. Some went to Mazatlan, Mexico, hoping to get passage from there. Six returned home. The balance of the party took passage for San Francisco in two schooners, the *Evalina* and the *Two Friends*. The latter reached San Francisco after the very long voyage of four months. 50 in company.

58

MATTAPAN AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY

Sailed from Gloucester, June 4, 1849, on brig *Ann*, S. P. Burnham, master; Hosea Smith of Deerfield, N. H., president; James K. Gardiner of Saco, Me., vice-president; Isaac F. Ryan, secretary; S. P. Burnham of Gloucester, Joshua Grafton of Boston, Lorenzo Lawton of Freetown, Me., and William Austin of Boston, directors. Dr. John May of Burlington, Vt., went as surgeon. Passage out 219 days. 42 in company.

59

MATTAPAN AND CALIFORNIA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Bristol, R. I., February 18, 1849, on brig *Ann*, Captain Richardson. Shares $200 each. Many Taunton and Dighton men. 184 days out. 44 in company.

60

MATTAPOISETT AND BRIDGEWATER MINING AND MECHANICAL COMPANY

Sailed from Mattapoisett, October 5, 1849, on the ship *Oscar*, 369 tons, Jonathan Dorman, master; Solomon Eaton, president; Louis Meigs, home agent; Matthew Mathers, treasurer; N. H. Barstow, Elnathan Cushing, Nathaniel Sears, and George Pratt, directors. Ship owned by company. Ship returned east and resumed whaling. 74 in company.

61

MECHANICS AND MERCHANTS MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, May 11, 1849, on the bark *Helen Augusta*, Fred W. Myrick of Newburyport, master and president; A. L. Adams of Boston, vice-president; C. C. Davis of Newburyport, secretary; J. B. Williams and D. E. Coleman of Newburyport, Isaac Sawyer of Ames-

bury, John H. Conant of Charlestown, and Joshua Leavit of Hingham, directors. Sixteen of the company were from Newburyport. 170 days passage out. Returned east and was finally sold under British flag and renamed *Albert Emerson*. 63 in company.

62

Mechanics Joint Stock Mining Company
also called, Brothers Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from New Haven, Conn., May 30, 1849, on bark *John Walls, Jr.*, Josiah Sanford of Topsham, Me., master; Nathaniel M. Wallis of Beverly, mate; Daniel Drew of Eastport, Me., second mate; E. Edmonson of North Andover, physician. Many Beverly and Massachusetts men. The vessel was detained at Rio a long time on account of a quarrel between the officers of the vessel and members of the company. 29 in company.

63

Mechanical Mining and Trading Company of Nantucket

Sailed from Nantucket, July 1, 1849, on brig *Joseph Butler*, Thomas F. Gardner, master; Peleg Ray of Nantucket, mate; Joseph Bates of Mattapoisett, second mate; Samuel D. Fiske and Alanson Swain, chief directors. Company owned the vessel. 19 in company.

64

Middlesex and California Gold Company

Sailed from Boston, March 3, 1849, on brig *Sea Eagle*, 199 tons, Captain Hammond. Carried out to California, Boston, Charlestown, and New Bedford men. Went by Magellan. Passage of 226 days to California. 70 in company.

65

Mt. Washington Company, on *Sweden*

Sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on ship *Sweden*, Captain Cotting, and arrived at San Francisco, August 3, 1849, making the voyage in 154 days. The *Sweden* made at least three more voyages to California in 1851, 1853, and 1854. 7 in company.

66

Mt. Washington Company, overland

Started from Boston, July 30, 1849, for California via Independence and the South Pass. ? in company.

67

Mutual Benefit Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, April 1, 1849, on bark *Emma Isadora*, 213 tons, Henry Sanford of Chelsea, master and president; Daniel Kendrick of Brunswick, Me., vice-president. Arrived at San Francisco, September 13, 1849. Passage out 165 days. The company owned the vessel. 60 in company.

68

Nantucket Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from New Bedford, March 8, 1849, on bark *Russell*, 301 tons, Francis B. Folger, master; Charles B. Gardiner, mate; George B. Sheffield, second mate. The *Russell* arrived at San Francisco, August 2, 1849, making the passage in 147 days. All the company were Nantucket men. In 1851 the *Russell* was whaling from San Francisco. 47 in company.

69

Nantucket Mining Company

Sailed from Nantucket, February 1, 1849, to New York, to take the steamship *Falcon* for Chagres and Panama. 8 in company.

70

Narragansett Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, February 14, 1849, on bark *Velasco*, Giles Spencer, master; Thomas W. Sawyer, first mate; Isaac Nickerson, second mate; Mr. Roberts of Scituate, president; Henry Cleveland of Pawtucket, vice-president; E. W. Bucklin of Pawtucket, treasurer. The company owned and manned the vessel. Went by Magellan. 235 days passage out. 86 in company.

71

Naumkeag Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, January 23, 1849, on ship *Capitol*, Thorndike Proctor, master; Joseph S. Wallis, president; George W. Woodberry, vice-president; Asa Kitfield, Joseph Wallis, Augustus Noble, and John S. Foster, directors. Passage out 162 days. 20 in company.

72

NEPONSET CALIFORNIA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from Boston, February 9, 1849, on bark *Lanerk*, Captain Woodberry; Nathaniel Hibbard of Dorchester, president; John Sias of Milton, vice-president; Joseph E. Robinson, James Blanchard, Henry Pope, and Lemuel Blackman of Dorchester, directors. Passage to California 212 days. 35 in company.

73

NEW BEDFORD AND CALIFORNIA JOINT STOCK COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, April 2, 1849, on ship *Mayflower*, Captain Randell. Company owned the vessel. Passage out 165 days. 60 in company.

74

NEW BEDFORD AND CALIFORNIA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, March 2, 1849, on schooner *Emmaline*, Franklin Bourne, master; Charles Devoll, mate. 35 in company.

75

NEW BEDFORD AND SACRAMENTO MUTUAL MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, April 3, 1849, on ship *America*, Captain Seabury. Passage out 168 days. 21 in company.

76

NEW BEDFORD AND FAIRHAVEN MUTUAL MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, April 3, 1849, on ship *America*. 12 in company.

77

NEW ENGLAND AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING ASSOCIATION

Sailed from Boston, February 1, 1849, on ship *Leonore*, H. H. Greene, master and president. Company owned their vessel. Passage out 149 days. At first a store ship, then in lumber trade, broken up in 1870. 100 in company.

78

NEW ENGLAND PIONEERS

Left Boston, January 12, 1849, for California via Vera Cruz and Mazatlan, Charles A. Paul of Boston, captain. 12 in company.

79

Norfolk and California Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 9, 1849, on bark *Lanerk*.

? in company.

80

North Pacific Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, September 26, 1849, on ship *Cordova*, 332 tons, Captain Winsor. Arrived at San Francisco, April 8, 1850, a passage of 194 days. The *Cordova* was sold as a store ship and later used as a reservoir for water brought from Sancilito across the bay. This water was used in filling the casks of vessels in the harbor. Still later she was bought by Captain Bowman, of the firm of Palmer Cook and Co., and scuttled to gain title to water lots. In excavating for a new building, corner of Davis and Jackson Streets, about 1890, the remains of a vessel's hull was found and thought to be the *Cordova*.

112 in company.

81

North Western Trading and Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, March 3, 1849, on bark *Orb*, 230 tons, Fred W. Moores, master. Arrived at San Francisco, September 9, 1849, after a passage of 189 days. 22 in company.

82

Ophir Mining Company

Left Boston, April 9, 1849, to go overland by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. 13 in company.

83

Old Colony and California Association

Sailed from Plymouth, November 19, 1849, on bark *Sarah Abigail*, Joseph Bartlett, master; Ephraim Holmes of Plymouth, president; Thomas Dinnan of Plymouth, vice-president; Daniel Goddard, secretary; John P. Collingwood, treasurer. Passage to California in 235 days. 35 in company.

84

Old Harvard Company of Cambridge

Sailed from Boston, February 9, 1849, on ship *Duxbury*, Captain Varney or Varina (both names given), and arrived at San Francisco,

August 22, 1849, a passage of 194 days. Twelve of the company were left behind at Rio on account of dissatisfaction with the captain and four were absent when the ship sailed. The food on the *Duxbury* was very poor and the water, from casks formerly used for oil, was so bad as to be hardly drinkable. In spite of these disadvantages all on board arrived in good health except two, one who had phthisis before starting and one who contracted scurvy on board and died shortly after his arrival at San Francisco. The *Duxbury* was an old vessel and, one account says, required all Massachusetts Bay to turn around in. Dr. Thornton was surgeon and Rev. Dr. Brierly chaplain on the vessel.

25 in company.

85

Pacific Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, April 2, 1849, on ship *York*, George N. Cheever, master. Arrived at San Francisco, September 17, 1849, a passage of 170 days. The *York* made one voyage to Australia from San Francisco and on her return became a store ship in 1851. In 1882 the *York* was owned by Bolton, Barron and Co. of San Francisco and used to store Chili flour, being anchored near California Street wharf.

38 in company.

86

Plymouth and California Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Boston, January 13, 1849, on brig *Attila*, 206 tons, W. W. Baker, master. Arrived at San Francisco, July 6, 1849, in 174 days. Timothy Allen of Plymouth, president; Fred Salter of Boston, vice-president; George W. Virgin, Jr. and Abram C. Small of Boston, Charles Weston of Plymouth, and Rufus Holmes of Duxbury, directors. 42 in company.

87

Plymouth Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Plymouth, March 18, 1849, on bark *Yeoman*, 175 tons, James M. Clark, master. Arrived at San Francisco, October 2, 1849, after a passage of 198 days. Nathaniel Covington was president of the company, Seth Blakenship, Jonathan Clark, and Thomas Brown, directors. The company owned the vessel. The *Yeoman* left San Francisco for Stockton two days after her arrival and carried the first cargo of brick used in the building of that city. ? in company.

88

Rialto Mining Company

Sailed from New Bedford, January 30, 1849, on schooner *Rialto*, Charles Downs, master. Almost all the company were whaling captains. Passage to San Francisco in 150 days. 16 in company.

89

Rockport Granite Mining Company

Sailed from Newburyport, October 20, 1849, on ship *Euphrasia*. All the members from Rockport. 16 in company.

90

Rough and Ready Overland Mining Company

Sailed from New York, June 16, 1849, on steamship *Greyhound* for Vera Cruz and Mazatlan, overland to California. 50 in company.

91

Roxbury and California Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 9, 1849, on bark *Lanerk*, Captain Woodberry. The Neponset, Boston Mechanics and Norfolk and California, all sailed on the *Lanerk*. 112 in company.

92

Roxbury Sagamore Company

Sailed from Boston, March 2, 1849, on ship *Sweden*. Passage out 155 days. ? in company.

93

Sabina Joint Stock Mining Company

Sailed from New Bedford, February 3, 1849, on ship *Sabina*, Captain Green. Seventeen captains aboard who had been round the Horn. 60 in company.

94

Sacramento Mutual Mining Company

Sailed from New Bedford, April 3, 1849, on ship *America*. William P. Haskins of New Bedford, president. Passage out 168 days. 15 in company.

95

Sagamore and Sacramento Company of Lynn

Started from Boston, March 29, 1849, to go by South Pass of Rocky Mountains. 52 in company.

96

Salem and California Mining Company

Sailed from Salem, March 19, 1849, on bark *LaGrange*, Captain Dewing. The company owned the vessel. The *LaGrange*[1] was hauled up on the bank at Sacramento and afterwards used as a prison. There were only four of the '49 fleet so used and the *LaGrange* was the only one from Massachusetts. The steamer carried out on the *LaGrange* was named *Commodore Jones* and was the first steamer to make the trip from Benecia to Sacramento. She was sold and renamed *Jack Hayes*, after the famous Texan ranger and future sheriff of San Francisco. 63 in company.

97

Salem Mining Company

Sailed from Salem, April 5, 1849, on ship *Elizabeth*, James S. Kimball, master. Company owned the vessel. Arrived out September 17, 1849. Passage of 165 days. Became store ship, later used as United States Bonded Warehouse. 12 + in company.

98

Salem Mechanics Mining and Trading Company

Sailed from Salem, December 6, 1849, on ship *Crescent*, John Madison, master; Albert Lecky of Salem, president; Henry W. Haskell, vice-president; William Hardy of Lawrence, treasurer; John H. Newton of Salem, secretary; Thomas J. Gifford, Dean C. Simmons and Thomas Dickson of Salem, Charles C. Farnham and Enos G. Hayes of Lawrence, and Ralph S. Gordon of Fitchburg, directors. Company owned the vessel. Passage 165 days. 61 in company.

[1] Most of the company fleet that went to California in 1849 were old vessels and never again employed in ocean trade. Some were dragged ashore and converted into stores and boarding houses and many of these were burned in the fire of 1851. The larger number were used as store ships, having large sections cut out from their sides on the level of the between decks and goods from other ships stored on them, to be carried to the city on lighters as required. Tinkham, in his *History of Stockton*, says that there were so many ships anchored in the slough at Stockton that they were a detriment to navigation and in February, 1850, the merchants of that place petitioned to have them removed and many were taken to Mormon Slough and burned. In November, 1851, there were 148 store ships anchored in the harbor of San Francisco.

99

Sandwich and Cape Cod Mining Company

Sailed from New York [date unknown], on steamship *Ohio*, for Chagres and Panama. Overland. 12 in company.

100

Sarah Parker Mining Company. No. 1

Sailed from Nantucket, July 6, 1849, on ship *Sarah Parker*, James Codd, master; William J. Pinkham, chief director. All from Nantucket. 16 in company.

101

Sarah Parker Mining Company. No. 2

Sailed on ship *Sarah Parker*, another company, Charles T. Meader, chief director. 12 in company.

102

Shawmut and California Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 8, 1849, on brig *Rudolf* or *Rodolph*, Hartwell Walker, master; Andrew Waters of Boston, president. Company owned the vessel. Passage out 219 days. Afterwards used in South Sea trade. 33 in company.

103

Shawmut Mining and Trading Association

Sailed from Boston, April 2, 1849, on brig *Tarento*, Captain Saunders; A. Boissier of South Boston, president; William A. Legg of Boston, vice-president; Z. S. Booth of Derby, Conn., surgeon. Passage out 165 days. 60 in company.

104

Sherbourne Company

Sailed from Nantucket, March 10, 1849, on ship *Henry Astor*, 378 tons, Captain Joy. Passage out 188 days. Arrived at San Francisco, September 16, 1849. 10 in company.

105

South Shore and California Joint Stock Company

Sailed from Boston, April 3, 1849, on brig *Planet*. Henry Pratt, president; John H. Baker, vice-president, both of Cohasset; George

Adams and George Stoddard of Hingham, and Clark Cutting and Artemas Thorndike of Cohasset, directors. Passage out 160 days. 81 in company.

106

Suffolk and California Mutual Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, May 2, 1849, on ship *New Jersey*, Captain Day; Beresford Boynton of Boston, president; W. H. Hardy of Contscookville, vice-president; Rev. Barlow Dyer, chaplain; Dr. Gibbs of Warren, physician; John Patch of Ipswich, counsellor; R. S. Marsh and Jesse Morrill of Boston, Safford Towers of Richmond, Vt., Edward Cardell of Warren, and T. C. Hanson of Lynn, directors. Passage out 164 days. Company owned the vessel. *New Jersey* sold soon after arrival and went under Tahitian flag. 180 in company.

107

Suffolk Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, February 1, 1849, on bark *Drummond*, Thomas J. Peirce, master; Hiram Cummings, president. Arrived at San Francisco, September 1, 1849. Passage of 210 days. Used afterwards in Pacific trade. 47 in company.

108

Toccao Company

Sailed from the Cape, October 25, 1849, on schooner *Toccao*, Captain Cranston, to go round the Horn. The *Toccao* was only 28 tons and carried a crew of four men. 5 in company.

109

Taunton Washing, Trading and Mining Company

Sailed from Fall River, November 2, 1849, on brig *Delaware*, H. P. Staples of Taunton, master; Abner Manchester of Little Compton, R. I., mate and president; W. S. Crandell of Taunton, vice-president; George Thornton of Taunton, treasurer. 52 in company.

110

Trescott Mining Company

Sailed from the Cape, June 19, 1849, on bark *Sacramento*. Vessel owned and manned by company. 30 in company.

111

Two Brothers Company

Sailed from New Bedford, on schooner *Two Brothers*, William N. Bedford, master. Company owned and manned the vessel.

13 in company.

112

William and Henry Mining Company

Sailed from Fairhaven, February 16, 1849, on ship *William and Henry*, John Church, master; Ezra Writhington, mate; James P. Lawrence of Falmouth, second mate. Passage out 200 days. 28 in company.

113

Winnegahee Mining Company

Sailed from Edgartown, April 10, 1849, on brig *Vesta*, Ozander Mayhew, master; Richard Martin of Tilsbury, sailing master; Austin Smith of Chilmark, second sailing master; Rufus N. Smith, second mate; Hilyard Mayhew, third mate; Alfred Lock of Chilmark, fourth mate; S. D. Skiff and Matthew Coffin of Tilsbury, carpenters; J. Rowlston of Chilmark, blacksmith; and George Nelson Hall, physician. Passage out 234 days. 28 in company.

114

Worcester County Mining Association

Left Worcester, February 20, 1849, to go overland via Chagres and Isthmus. 15 in company.

115

The ship *America*, Captain Seabury, which carried out the New Bedford and Fairhaven and the New Bedford and Sacramento Mining Companies, also carried out an unnamed company.

68 in company.

116

Massachusetts and California Gold Company

Went overland from Northampton. Nothing more known.

? in company.

117

Pharsalia Company

Sailed from Boston, January 25, 1849, on ship *Pharsalia* of 617 tons, George W. Allen, master. Arrived at San Francisco, July 23, 1849.

Passage 175 days. It is probable that the 150 members include passengers.
150 in company.

118

PHILERA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New York [date unknown], on ship *Philera*, James M. Russell, master; John W. Macy, mate; Reuben S. Easton, second mate. Nantucket men.
? in company.

119

POMONA MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, February 7, 1849, on schooner *Pomona*, Holder Almy, master; Philander Gifford, mate; William Penniman, second mate; Philander Hunt, Levi Nye, I. Nye, Freeman Bartlett, and George Gifford, directors.
14 in company.

120

SEA SERPENT COMPANY

Sailed from Gloucester, November 8, 1849, on schooner *Sea Serpent*. Gloucester and Rockport men. Passage out 150 days.
10 in company.

121

TREMONT MINING COMPANY

Sailed from New Bedford, February 10, 1849, on schooner *Tremont*.
20 in company.

122

MOUNT VERNON MINING ASSOCIATION

Sailed from Mattapoisett about the middle of April on the ship *Mount Vernon*, Captain Atsatt. The company consisted of young, intelligent mechanics, and mariners who had sailed on whaling vessels, and their intention was to engage in their own special pursuits and not go to the mines. They were building aboard a vessel of 39 tons for their use in California and had also brought their harpoons, and before they reached the Azores had taken one whale and expected to get more. They arrived at San Francisco, October 2, 1849, and a few days later were at Stockton. A few went to the mines but most, as originally intended, engaged in their former trades and professions, still keeping up the company formation. Among those going out on the *Mount Vernon* was George Augustus Shurtleff, a physician who afterwards

achieved state and national prominence in his profession. He was born at Carver, Massachusetts, and practised medicine at Wareham for four years before sailing for California. Dr. Shurtleff settled at Stockton and in 1865 was appointed Medical Director of the State Insane Asylum and during his long and useful career held many professional and business appointments. The Mount Vernon Company was engaged in many branches of trade and Dr. Shurtleff not only assisted in its management but also closed up its affairs when the company dissolved. 60 in company.

123

The Falmouth Overland Company is reported in the New Bedford *Mercury* as having arrived at San Francisco, the members sick and worn out, with little money left. ? in company.

124

Boston and Wachusett Hotel and Mining Company

Sailed from Boston, April 20, 1849, on brig *Colorado*, Captain Baker, for Benecia and Oregon. The company, which included five women, carried out the material to build their own houses and also the frame for a hotel. 25 in company.

There were two vessels sailing from Newburyport which the writer believes carried out organized companies to California but he has no proof of the fact. The brig *Charlotte*, 180 tons, sailed from Newburyport, January 25, 1849, with a company of sixteen gentlemen from that city and a number of others from different parts of Essex County. She was nearly new and well rigged and made the very fast run to the line of 22 days, studding sails set all the way. After crossing the line she was becalmed for ten days but was off the Falkland Islands, 47 days from Newburyport. It is not stated whether she went through the Strait or round the Horn, but in 84 days from the home port she was at the entrance of the Strait of Magellan on the western side. She made her first stop at Talcahuana, staying there nine days, 105 days from Newburyport. William Bartlett, a passenger on the *Charlotte*, writes home: "The brig, with the exception of being constantly wet, is pronounced by all the best sea boat they have ever seen. She has several times made 13 knots an hour and a 24 hours run with top gallant sails set of 12 knots. We have never pumped her oftener than once in 48 hours. Our Captain is fine." Arrived out in 180 days.

The other vessel was the bark *Ark*, which sailed from Newbury-

port October 31, 1849, with 113 passengers, 18 in one party from Haverhill. The *Ark*, Charles Marsh, master, was a vessel of 297 tons and her passengers were Essex County men. She crossed the line December 9, 1850, and the green ones were initiated by Neptune who visited the vessel in person. December 26 she went into St. Catherine's and was quarantined for six days, but that did not prevent the passengers from visiting the town as often as they pleased. The *Domingo* from Newburyport arrived while they were there, making the run in 46 days.

II

The Beverly Historical Society has in its possession the complete record of the Essex County and California Mining and Trading Company and the transactions of the company, as taken from their books, will best illustrate how these companies were formed and governed.

Beverly, Sept. 15, 1849.

At a meeting of the citizens of Beverly for the purpose of carrying on the mining trade and commercial business in the vicinity of California, R. G. Bennet was chosen chairman, and B. Porter, secretary.

Voted — that the following gentlemen be called the Essex County and California Mining and Trading Company.

J. C. Foster	John Jones
Benj. Webber	C. M. Witham
Abel Story	Israel Trask, 5th.
R. G. Bennet	William Friend

Nathaniel P. Sheldon

and that they be a committee to obtain new names.

Sept. 19th. 1849.

Voted — that a committee be appointed to make inquiries in regard to provisions and cargo. William Porter, John Jones, and James Masury were appointed members of the committee.

Voted — that the following gentlemen be a committee to examine the brig *Metropolis* and report what repairs are necessary for the accommodation of 40 persons.

J. C. Bennet	J. C. Foster
Ebenezer Meacum	Abel Story

William Friend

Oct. 3rd. Voted — that the following by-laws be accepted.

Preamble

We whose names are hereunto affixed do by these presents, covenant and agree to form ourselves into a Company to be called the Essex County and California Mining and Trading Company, to purchase a suitable vessel and provisions for the purpose of carrying on the mining, trading and commercial business in California and vicin-

ity, for the term of two years from the date hereof. On the decision of three fourths of the Company and for the good order and harmony of the Company we agree to adopt the following

BY-LAWS

Art. I. The Company shall consist of not over 40 members.

Art. II. The officers of the Company shall consist of a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and board of five Directors to be chosen by ballot for the term of six months.

Art. IV. If the officers in their official capacity shall neglect the performance of their duty or shall not administer the laws of the Company efficiently they may be removed from office and others appointed in their places by a vote of three quarters of the Co.

Art. IX. Any person who sustains a good moral character in the community in which he resides and has two thirds of the vote cast at any regular meeting of the Company shall be entitled to membership by paying the sum of $50 and signing his name to these articles.

Art. X. The members during the passage to California shall perform all duties necessary to the interests of the Company and after arrival there shall give their time and attention during reasonable hours of business and labor, wholly to the interests of the Co. Shall in all cases of danger be ready to defend each other and in all cases of sickness administer to each other's wants and use all possible means to restore each other to a usual degree of health.

Art. XI. No member shall at any time engage in any speculation on his own account or be interested in any other business than that of the co-partnership hereby established under penalty of $50 for the first and second offence and expulsion from the Company for the third.

Art. XII. If any member shall wantonly create disturbance or take part in any measure designed to injure the Company, or shall by gambling, intoxication or any other misconduct prove himself a nuisance to the Company he shall forfeit $50 for the first and second offence and be expelled for the third.

Art. XIV. In case of the death of a member after the departure of this Company, his interest shall continue for the benefit of his heirs and assigns until the expiration of the expedition.

Art. XV. In case any member shall by sickness or accident or any other cause except that occasioned by immoral conduct become unable to perform the duties that devolve upon him, he shall continue to receive, during the term of his disability, his share of the profits of the expedition as when in perfect health, and if by such sickness he shall be obliged to return, such member's interest shall then cease and his passage home be procured at the expense of the Company.

Art. XVI. Any member who is a substitute for a stockholder who shall leave the Company without their consent shall forfeit all interest in goods and chattels of any and every kind to said stockholder and said stockholder shall continue to receive his share of the profits of the Company that may accrue from the employment of the vessel only, relinquishing from that time all other interest in the Company.

Art. XX. Any member who is a stockholder who shall leave the Company without obtaining the consent of three quarters of the members thereof or who is expelled from the Company shall forfeit all his interest in the same to the Company.

Art. XXI. The Company shall appoint an agent who shall reside in some town in the County of Essex whose duty it shall be to attend to the business of the Company at home, to dispose of all monies remitted to him agreeably to the foregoing articles and who shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of said duty.

Art. XXII. No member shall be required to perform any manual labor on the Sabbath, other than work of necessity and mercy.[1]

[1] The Articles were very numerous and such as were immaterial have been omitted.

Oct. 30th. 1849. Voted — that the officers of the vessel be chosen by the substitutes and the officers of the Company by the shareholders.[1]

Voted — that J. C. Bennet be Master of the brig *Metropolis* for the voyage to California.

Voted — that Ebenezer Ellingwood be first mate, John Quiner 2nd. mate and Mr. Fisher 3rd. mate.

Voted — that the Company pay J. C. Bennet $150 for the voyage and he provide instruments and charts.

Voted — that Ebenezer Ellingood be paid 70, John Quiner, 60 and Mr. Fisher 60 dollars for the voyage.

Voted — that R. G. Bennet be the home agent.

Nov. 6th. '49. Voted — that $15,000 be insured on the vessel and cargo at the rate of three per cent.

Voted — that each of the crew be paid 45 dollars for the voyage to California.

Voted — that the Company borrow $1000 at nine per cent to pay present expenses.

The *Metropolis* sailed from Beverly, November 15, 1849, and the rest of her story has been told in another chapter.

[1] The shares could be subdivided and bought and sold, many owning only half a share: those sent out to California in place of shareholders were called substitutes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF THE CALIFORNIA PIONEERS, HISTORY AND ADVENTURES OF THE EMIGRANT COMPANIES FROM MASSACHUSETTS, 1849–50

Although the history of the California Pioneers of 1849 has been dealt with by many authors, the peculiar form the emigration took, that of companies of adventurers, has either been touched upon lightly or passed over as immaterial, so that almost no information can be obtained from standard histories or printed accounts of the emigration movement. The name of the company and the number of members it contained I have taken from the newspapers of the day but the account of the voyage or overland passage to California comes from such varied sources that it is hard to particularize. The following are some of the sources from which I have drawn information.

History of Marine Society of Newburyport.	
Macy's History of Nantucket, and other town histories.	
Log of bark *Metropolis.*	Beverly Historical Society.
Log of ship *Elizabeth.*	Essex Institute, Salem.
Log of bark *LaGrange.*	
Log of brig *Tigress.*	In writer's possession.
Journal of proceedings on bark *San Francisco.*	Family of Capt. Baker, Beverly.
Diary of Mahlon D. Spalding of Boston.	In possession of Mr. John T. Spalding of Boston.
Diary of Henry Souther of Boston.	In possession of the family.
Ship Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly.	Essex Institute, Salem.
Reports of the Society of California Pioneers of New England.	
Barnstable and Yarmouth Sea Captains and Ship Owners.	Francis William Sprague.
The Argonauts of California.	C. W. Haskins.
Tour of Duty in California, 1849.	Lieut. Joseph W. Revere.

Reminiscences of a Gold Hunter. William H. Thomes.
Private letters from Argonauts. In writer's possession.
Town and County Histories of California.

Hunt's *Merchant Magazine* and Gleason's *Pictorial Magazine*, 1849–50, contain some references. Most of my information on the inauguration of civil government in California and the Vigilance Committee I have drawn from pamphlets in the library of San Francisco. Most of my information about store ships I have received from F. C. Matthews of San Francisco, an authority on all such matters.

Length of Passage of Massachusetts Company Vessels Sailing to California in 1849

Brig *Acadian*, carrying	Hampshire and Holyoke Co.	267 days
Brig *Almena*,	Bay State and Cal. Co.	173
Ship *America*,	N. Bedford and Sacramento Co.	175
Brig *Ann*,	Gloucester Co.	219
Brig *Ann*,	Mattapan and Cal. Co.	184
Ship *Areatus*,	Bay State and Cal. Co.	179
Brig *Attila*,	Plymouth and Cal. Co.	174
Schooner *Boston*,	Cape Ann Pioneers,	157
Brig *Canonicus*,	El Dorado Co.	186
Ship *Capitol*,	Naumkeag Co.	162
Ship *Charlotte*,	Boston and Cal. Co.	195
Brig *Chatham*,	Essex Mining Co.	168
Schooner *Civilian*,	Cochituate Mining Co.	143
Ship *Cordova*,	North Pacific Co.	194
Ship *Crescent*,	Salem Mechanics Co.	165
Bark *Dimon*,	Dimon Mining Co.	168
Bark *Drummond*,	Suffolk Mining Co.	210
Ship *Duxbury*,	Old Harvard Co.	194
Ship *Edward Everett*,	Boston and Cal. Joint Stock Co.	174
Bark *Edward Fletcher*,	Unnamed company,	189
Ship *Elizabeth*,	Salem Co.	165
Schooner *Elizabeth B.*	Hyannis Gold Co.	144
Brig *Emily Bourne*,	Unnamed company,	180
Bark *Emma Isadora*,	Mutual Benefit Co.	165
Schooner *Eugene*,	Cotuit Port Association,	161
Ship *Euphrasia*,	Rockport and Cal. Co.	197

Ship *Fanny*,	Hope Mining Co.	188
Ship *Florida*,	Acushnet M. and Building Co.	154
Schooner *Gazelle*,	Unnamed company,	176
Ship *Harriet Rockwell*,	Franklin and Cal. Co.	161
Bark *Helen Augusta*,	Mechanics and Merchants Co.	170
Ship *Henry Astor*,	Astor Mining Co.	188
Schooner *Horace*,	Unnamed company,	248
Bark *Lanerk*,	Boston Mechanics Co.	212
Bark *LaGrange*,	LaGrange Co.	184
Ship *Leonore*,	N. England and Cal. Co.	149
Ship *Magnolia*,	Magnolia Co.	201
Brig *Mary Wilder*,	Mass. and Cal. Co.	189
Ship *Mayflower*,	N. Bedford and Cal. Co.	165
Bark *Metropolis*,	Essex County and Cal. Co.	207
Ship *New Jersey*,	Suffolk and Cal. Mutual M. Co.	164
Ship *Obed Mitchell*,	Kennebec Co.	167
Bark *Orb*,	N. Western Co.	189
Schooner *Paragon*,	Gloucester Fishing Co.	183
Brig *Pauline*,	Bunker Hill and Cal. Co.	240
Ship *Pharsalia*,	Unnamed company,	176
Brig *Planet*,	South Shore Co.	160
Ship *Regulus*,	Bunker Hill M. & Trading Co.	192
Schooner *Rialto*,	Rialto Co.	150
Schooner *Roanoke*,	Boston Marine Co.	164
Brig *Rudolf*,	Shawmut and Cal. Co.	219
Bark *Russell*,	Nantucket Mining Co.	147
Bark *San Francisco*,	San Francisco Co.	149
Bark *Sarah Abigail*,	Old Colony and Cal. Co.	235
Brig *Sea Eagle*,	Middlesex and Cal. Co.	226
Schooner *Sea Serpent*,	Gloucester Co.	150
Ship *Sweden*,	Roxbury Sagamore Co.	154
Brig *Tarento*,	Shawmut Mining Co.	165
Brig *Tigress*,	Beverly Co.	166
Bark *Velasco*,	Narragansett Co.	235
Brig *Vesta*,	Winnegahee Co.	234
Ship *Walter Scott*,	Edgartown Mining Co.	156
Ship *William & Henry*,	Unnamed company,	200
Bark *Yeoman*,	Plymouth Co.	198
Ship *York*,	Pacific Co.	170